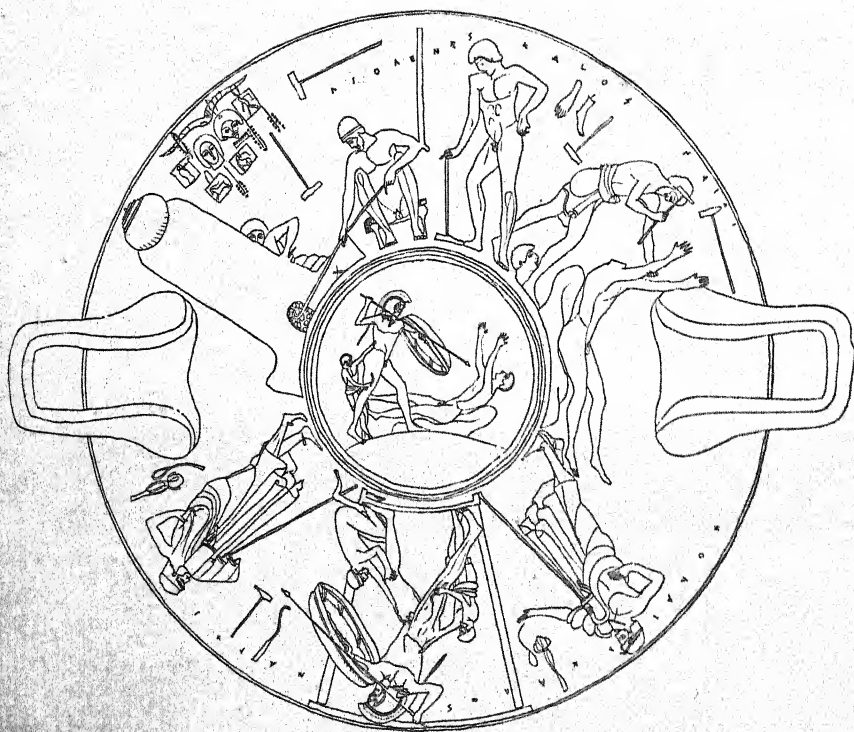






A HISTORY  
OF  
GREEK SCULPTURE.





SCENES IN A SCULPTOR'S STUDIO.

FROM A GREEK VASE IN BERLIN.

[Frontispiece.]

A HISTORY  
OF  
GREEK SCULPTURE



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11754

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

*REVISED EDITION.*

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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## PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

—•—

SINCE the publication of the First Edition of this Work the principal event in connection with Greek Sculpture has been the recovery of a fine series of archaic statues on the Acropolis of Athens. By a curious coincidence sculptures of the same character and period have almost simultaneously been found in various isolated localities of Greece. As a consequence study and research have been devoted to these archaic sculptures, largely to the exclusion of everything else.

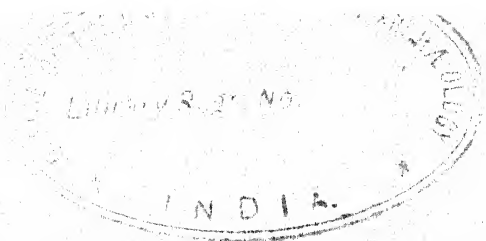
In the present Edition it will be seen that these recent discoveries occupy a considerable space: they have at the same time afforded an opportunity of re-arranging the early part of Vol. I., and it is hoped that with this re-arrangement it may be possible to follow more advantageously the development of Greek Sculpture during the 6th Century B.C.

A. S. MURRAY.

BRITISH MUSEUM,  
*April, 1890.*

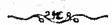






## PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.



A NARRATIVE of the rise and progress of Greek sculpture involves many questions on which there are now differences of opinion, and, much as a continuous statement of results would have been preferable, it has at times been necessary to enter into argument. Where the argument is based on less important details, I have endeavoured to confine it to foot-notes. But there are also questions on which the opinion commonly received has seemed to me erroneous, and here again some degree of discussion has been unavoidable, the details being as far as possible consigned to smaller type. In a history of Greek sculpture notes and references are indispensable, and may be said to need no apology. What I wish to defend is the extensive use I have made of them, partly, as has just been said, to relieve the narrative, and partly also to show my constant indebtedness to writers who have worked out one or other of the numerous problems of Greek art.

It may be said that in devoting the earlier chapters to an explanation of certain main principles in imaginative and in industrial art, with many instances of the earliest condition of handicraft, I have overstepped the limits of a reasonable introduction to the subject of Greek sculpture. But sculpture is an art which even in its highest phases, as well as in its rise and early progress, cannot, I am convinced, be fully appreciated otherwise than by a preliminary study of these questions.

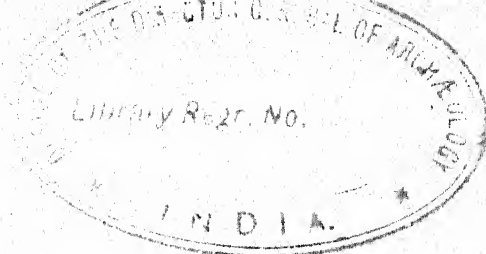
Recent years have added largely to the material of

illustration, and rendered necessary a number of new drawings. These have been made with special care. Yet this increase of material has been more in the way of enriching than of superseding the standard examples of former times, and accordingly most of them have been reproduced. In this occasionally use has been made of publications not widely known, and to the authors of them it is a pleasure to express my thanks here.

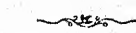
In restoring the Shield of Achilles as described by Homer, the process was first to make a tracing of each scene from an authoritative publication of the ancient work of art selected to illustrate it, and next to draw from these tracings the various scenes on a uniform scale. This was done by Mr. W. HARRY RYLANDS, with a friendship that made light of the laborious task.

A. S. MURRAY.

BRITISH MUSEUM,  
1880.



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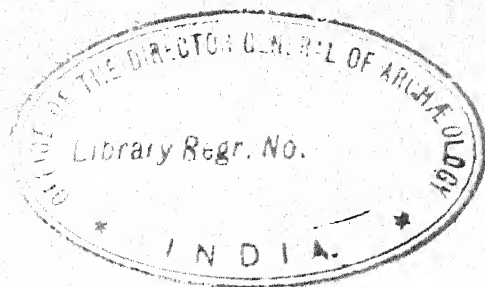
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INDIA.

# A HISTORY OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

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## CHAPTER I.

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The theory of imitation in art—The view of Lessing—Limits set by material—Artistic inspiration—Opinions of Aristotle, Bacon and others—Art as an imitation of nature—Realism—Idealism—Selection of types—Influence of public taste—Theories of beauty—Expression and its development—The aim of imitation.

THE imitation of nature, whether in sculpture or painting, encounters to a degree the difficulties which beset translation from one language to another. In language a thought, and the form in which it is expressed, must be conveyed through a new medium; while in art the essential character of the object is reproduced in a new material. For both there must be freedom, yet not without these limits: on the one hand a perfect knowledge of the original, and on the other a complete command of the new element. To keep to these limits unfailingly, was the constant struggle of substantive art in ancient Greece; and if the history of this struggle be broadly divided into two parts, it will be found that in the earlier stage progress was paramountly in the direction of acquiring facility and command of material, while in the later stage all effort was to gain a fulness of knowledge of the original.

Suppose the figure to be imitated is that of a living man, and the material to be employed, marble. It is not necessary that the knowledge of the original should be perfect in a general sense; it is sufficient if it be exact and complete from the aspect under which the figure is to be viewed; and so far as that aspect is at the choice of the artist, he is free to determine it in such a way as will suit best his knowledge for the moment. But in certain particulars he has no choice. Marble is an immovable inorganic substance, and it cannot be employed to imitate a living organic body, unless the artist seizes a particular aspect presented by this body during so short an instant of time that it may practically be considered as lifeless like the marble. If the figure is to be represented in action, the instant at which it must be seized will be that at which the action is most expressive, or, as it may better be stated, at its highest point. For instance, in a combat between two heroes, the highest point of the action will be the moment immediately before the one antagonist has felt the blow of the other. When once the blow has been felt, a second action sets in, and if the artist prefers to represent it, he must again take it at its highest moment, when the effect has reached its climax. This is the view admirably set forth by Lessing,<sup>1</sup> and it will frequently be seen how, from ignorance of this principle, the earlier Greek

<sup>1</sup> Laokoon, xvi. The distinction which he draws between poetry and formative art is that the one consists of tones in time, the other of figures and colours in space. Things exist not only in space but in time, and may present at any moment a different aspect in consequence of some action. Art ought then to be able to at least indicate these changes. On

the other hand actions must have material, and accordingly poetry, which represents progressive action, must encroach on the domain of art. As art can seize only one moment of action, so poetry ought to seize only so much of material as is momentarily involved in the action. Compare also W. von Humboldt's *Ästhetische Versuche*, p. 60.

artists fell into the snare of representing practically two actions at one and the same time. Progressive action, as Lessing points out, is the province of poetry, which also is in itself a thing of time and progression, of parts without substantial coherency. Nor could he, perhaps, have found anywhere a more striking illustration of his statement than in the choice which he made of a comparison between Homer's description of the shield of Achilles and Virgil's account of the shield of Æneas. The Greek poet follows the progress of the making of the shield by the god. Virgil describes it after it is made bit by bit, and all the beauty of his language fails to give the impetus which naturally arises from Homer's lines.

Thus, at the outset, it appears that the very material which a sculptor employs, imposes on him this condition—that his figure or figures must represent in their whole attitude that moment which immediately precedes the transition from one action to another, and at which the figure is momentarily not living; if it be allowed to express by such a contradiction of fact, the truth that the moment available for the artist is too short for even a single pulsation of life. To say that a sculptor must find his figure in the marble block, as the phrase goes, is a different thing. Yet there underlies the saying, in reality, the principle just stated. When it happened that a triangular piece of marble, thrown into the hands of M. Rude,<sup>1</sup> suggested to him the conception of his now celebrated Neapolitan boy playing with a tortoise, that was perhaps a mere accident. But a distinctive part of the artistic success of the figure consists in its remaining true to its nature as inert marble; while, consistent with this, it attains all that is possible of truthfulness to the nature of the subject represented.

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<sup>1</sup> Hamerton's *Modern Frenchmen*, p. 193.

If, then, the material in which a sculptor works must be treated so as to remain true to itself, as well as true to the object of which it is to be a representation, there is thus an obvious set of limits to realistic imitation which the mere sense of congruity will enable the artist to observe.

It is a different question when a sculptor is employed to decorate with reliefs the long narrow band of the frieze of a temple, and finds himself confronted with obvious material necessities. He must preserve in his design the long continuity and the evenness of the frieze. If it is to be a procession, the movement must be continuous and calm, with the flow of a stream; and it will depend upon his genius whether he makes it sluggish and dull, or full of the bright variety of surface in a sparkling current. Or if it is to be a battle scene, it must again carry the eye along by its movement, steady and calm in the main. What is true of the frieze of a temple in respect of the material conditions which it imposes, is true of all decorative art. The form of the surface or space to be operated on, cannot be interfered with by the design without danger. Innumerable instances of the vividness with which this was appreciated by the Greeks, will be seen among their artistic remains. Strictly this is a wider question than that which concerns the limits imposed on the sculptor by the mere inertness of his material, and it has been introduced here chiefly to strengthen the impression that the nature of the substance employed by an artist must never be lost sight of by him. It is to a contrary practice that we owe almost all that is truly detestable in art, however wonderful much of it may be in technical skill.

It has already been said that the earlier stage of Greek art was occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the capabilities and limits of its material; not, however,



exclusively so, since very considerable progress was also made in obtaining a true sense of the nature of the objects which it undertook to represent, though this, broadly speaking, was the function of the second stage. To discharge this function adequately, it was not required that the knowledge should be general, but rather that it should be special, always with a view to the capabilities of the material. If the figure to be represented were that of a man, it was not necessary that more of him should be known than could be expressed in the marble or bronze. Indeed, what was and is still most needful is to ignore everything about him that cannot be so expressed. Place a living man on a pedestal, and it will instantly be seen how impossible he is as a monument. He must, so to speak, be translated into marble or bronze, and the translation, like that from one language into another, must be true to the nature of the new medium, while true so far as it can go to the nature of the man as indicated in his forms. Since, then, the artist is bound to ignore everything about his figure that does not fit in harmoniously with the attitude of the moment which he chooses to represent, he has before him a course which is direct enough, though at the same time obviously opening up a wide field for experiment. He may think, for instance, and not impossibly with justice, that there is nothing even in modern costume which may not under correctly artistic circumstances be rendered consistently. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the difficulty to be encountered will naturally lead him to avoid such experiments, and to fall back as frequently as possible on the approved examples of the ancients. But in theory he has only to attain the simple end of perfect harmoniousness.

It will be within the recollection of everyone accustomed to look at sculpture, ancient or modern, that



he has frequently seen specimens which appeared to have no fault, but equally exercised no proper influence on him. These are instances where the artist has undoubtedly attempted nothing beyond his powers of skill, and where a fairly perfect harmoniousness is the result. Yet obviously there is something very essential wanting. Apparently it does not arise from want of knowledge, either of the capabilities of his material or of the nature of the subject from his point of view. It is easy to say that the something absent is artistic inspiration. But then artistic inspiration is not known to be a thing of strictly definite compass, found always in the same degree in this or that man, whatever his country or time. So far as it is knowable, it would seem to share the progress which attends other human gifts. Those who have been most highly endowed with it, whether poets or formative artists, have been observed to live in times when the particular arts of which they were masters had by long development reached what is regarded as their perfection. So Homer, so Pheidias, and so Raphael. Before and after each of them have been many instances of inspiration, for the most part of a lesser degree, but still welcome to mankind. Perhaps it should be understood as a quality of mind superadded to the strictly technical qualities which may be said to lie in the nature of the artist, which qualities are capable of complete development without necessarily inducing inspiration. It would thus correspond to a power of abstract thought compared with the faculty of direct and practical observation, and, indeed, the never-failing impression produced by a work truly described as of the inspired order, is that it had been fashioned under the control of a powerful mind. It is the mind which controls and selects. Without it technically artistic gifts are only squandered, as we know by abundance of illustrations.

In the progress of art, then, there must be developed a mental power of controlling the impulse for imitation, and it would be an instructive pursuit if its course could be followed. If it could be assumed that the impulse to imitate knows no limits beyond those imposed by this mental faculty, and, of course, those of material, which are bought by experience, then it could be imagined that the dawn of this faculty will be coeval with the dawn of the imitative impulse. The facts of early history do not determine the question either way, though the probability may well be that an instinct of selection accompanies the earliest efforts of imitative art. It is certain, however, that before a nation reaches the stage of what is called high art, it must pass through several long series of efforts in which the one object is to decorate a given surface. At first, the limits that beset it are those of mere space, and the result is a system of decoration which consists of pure geometric lines, ultimately worked into a variety of patterns. With advancing skill figures of animals are introduced among the patterns, but the geometric influence continues to be very marked in the flow of outlines. Next follow figures of men, but again with clear evidence of the geometric sense. Here, however, the process of thought and sympathy begins. Nor could it have begun earlier. Art enters on a new life, without being able to shake off what it has been learning throughout the long period now passed, and accordingly it retains conspicuously a decorative character until absolute freedom has been gained. Such was its course in Greece. To argue from that, however, that no other course is possible, would be to ignore the fact that the Greeks were preceded by the older civilizations of Assyria and Egypt with which they came in contact, and from which they may have received impulses not in keeping with what their natural development might otherwise

have been. These difficulties seem impenetrable, and for the present purpose it may be taken that true art begins with the imitation of the human figure, whether this was suggested by an instinct or by mental choice. Here only is the full swing of sympathy and mind possible. Here begins selection and controlling power, and here opens the question of the ideal in art.

The impulse of art is to imitate nature, by which is meant not natural objects only, but the various phases as well of natural and human life. Aristotle thought so, and since his day many have agreed with him, while others have arrived at different results. To some it has appeared that Bacon could not have accepted this definition when he assigned the practice of art to the faculty of imagination, since it would hardly seem as if the faculties of imagination and imitation could be identical, or, if not identical, yet capable of working harmoniously together. On the whole, however, there has been a very general agreement as to the theory of imitation. But on going into the subject beyond this point of agreement a remarkable difference of opinion has arisen. On the one side it is argued that every imitation of nature is a work of art, that a faithful imitation is good art, an inaccurate imitation bad art, and that it is permissible to imitate any object or phase of nature the artist may choose—always, of course, with reference to the scope of his material. If his choice falls on an object or phase of nature which is repugnant to the notions of his fellow men, he will be vilified for his production; but it will still be a work of art if faithfully executed. This is not improperly called the realistic view, since it requires that every artistic production should convey the real presence of the object imitated. On the other side stands idealism, according to which the practical impossibility is maintained of imitating nature, since nature is a whole, and

cannot be isolated into this or that part at the wish of an artist, except on the condition that he infuses into his reproduction of the isolated part that which really connects it with the whole. It would seem as if to represent the natural life of the object imitated would be sufficient to meet this objection, and supporters of realism do not hesitate to affirm that this natural life can be reproduced by careful observation of the individual object. The idealists deny this emphatically, and declare that the nearest approach to the truth of nature in representing an isolated phase of it is to be obtained by bringing to bear on the representation the result of an observation of all objects or phases of nature of the same class as that undergoing imitation.<sup>1</sup> An artist cannot represent an object of nature truthfully unless he has in his mind an image drawn from observation of the whole class to which the object belongs. This seems to have been also the opinion of Aristotle, who says that a part can only be rightly rendered in art by a knowledge of the whole. If, then, a choice is to be made between say a realistic and an idealistic painter, of whom the former sits down to copy exactly what he sees before him, while the other approaches the object of imitation, with a wide range of study and thought, it will be felt that the latter, the idealist, is at least the

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<sup>1</sup> Compare W. von Humboldt's *Ästhetische Versuche*, p. 21. Again, at p. 8 he points out that the mind, according to its faculties, is employed either (1) in collecting, arranging, or applying the results of experience, or (2) in following out thoughts independent of all experience, or (3) dealing with distinct and definite realities, in such a way that they become indefinite and limitless.

In this last phase the imagination is the principal force, and whatever it produces must have two characteristics: (1) it must be a pure product of imagination, and (2) it must possess a certain external and internal reality; since without the first the imaginative power would not be supreme, and since without the second the other faculties of the mind would not be in simultaneous action with it.



wiser man, and if supported by skill, the better artist. A work idealised in this manner is a work of truth for all time. No doubt in art as in science there will always be, besides the right method of procedure, two other courses—the empiric, in which the right end is gained by chance means, and the automatic, in which instinctively means are employed suitable to bring about the right end without any distinct conception of that end in the mind of the person employing them.

In a sense, artists should follow Nature in her selection of types fittest to endure, such types as may be counted on enduring at least as long as any work of art. How far from this point of view there should be a difference of selection between the sculptor and the painter, or whether there should be any other than that which is imposed by the different capabilities of their material, is a question on which it is difficult to decide. But it is an obvious remark, that among the objects or phases of nature peculiarly adaptable to the painter's brush a greater proportion are subject to the changes of time than is the case with the objects or phases of nature specially akin to the art of the sculptor. Nor is it to be forgotten that the work of the painter is singularly ephemeral in its material compared with that of the sculptor. No specimen of the achievements of the great Greek painters survives, and yet how is it with the works of their contemporaries, the sculptors, who, as a rule, were behind them in the fame of the day?

To some extent public taste will act as a guide in the selection of types, and on this point the following is the opinion of a modern writer:<sup>1</sup> "A poet may choose

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sully in *Mind* for October, 1876. I may add that the sub-

stance of this and the two preceding paragraphs has been taken.



to extol an ignoble type of sentiment, or a painter to beautify subjects drawn from the lower and sensual region of human life. But the question still remains: does not this moral blemish constitute at the same time an artistic blemish? To answer this question we must clearly go back to some fundamental conception of art. Now psychological inquiry, taken in the large sense, tells us that art is essentially the production of a social and not a personal gratification; that it can only appeal to emotions which are common to society, and which, moreover, express themselves in mass—that is, in a public and sympathetic form; and that since no immoral, that is anti-social sentiment can permanently utter itself in this concreted form, art has to avoid the immoral as one branch of the inartistic." It is certainly a rule that the better artists have always appealed to the strong guiding influence of the times in which they lived, but, unfortunately, there have been periods when this influence was, in the main, despicable, and in these periods the productions of art have been equally reprehensible. It is therefore to be wished that the view of the artist should be clearer than is here indicated, and that he should appeal to a standard of high taste such as can be collected from the history of civilization—that, in short, he should select subjects or types which nature, or as it may be said, the march of civilization, has stamped as the nearest approach to perfection of their kind.

Much has been said of a law in force in Greece, which, so far as it went, relieved the artist from the task of selecting his type, inasmuch as it declared that no victor in the games could have a strictly portrait-statue of himself set up unless he had been

successful in all the five forms of contest, since anything short of success in all the five would leave open the possibility of certain parts of his body having been developed at the expense of others, owing to which it could not at the first glance present, as a perfect figure ought to present, that perfection of adaptability in all its parts to work together harmoniously towards one end. That is to say, his figure would not be beautiful; for it is in this perfect adaptability of all the parts to work together towards one end that the definition of beauty founded on Aristotle and accepted by Winckelmann and Lessing consists. Certainly the practice here referred to would justify this definition of physical beauty. So, in fact, would also the method of Zeuxis,<sup>1</sup> who when painting a figure of Helena, had before him five maidens of the town of Croton where he was working, selected by himself for their beauty. Not that we suppose him to have copied from one a limb, from another a head, but rather that from them all he generalized one type of perfection.

Physical and moral turpitude being so closely allied in the judgment of the Greeks, and both equally detestable, while the opposites of them, no less closely identified, constituted the ideal of life, it is not to be wondered at that the remains of their art should have produced the impression that its grand characteristic was the pursuit of beauty of form, to the neglect of all the varied beauty that may lie in moral expression. It is difficult to avoid this conviction when we see, for instance, how constantly in cases where the passion of love is to be represented, the resource of the artist is to introduce into his scene a small figure of Eros. Otherwise the sensual evidence of the passion is extremely slight. It is true also that Greek remains largely justify this impression, though far less so now than in the days

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<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *De Invent.* ii. 1. 1.

of Winckelmann and Lessing, when little had been accomplished in the recovery of the really great works of the Greek sculptors. To begin with, there are even now comparatively few heads left to the sculptures which exist, and considering how far facial expression must be involved in the question, it will be admitted that the means of comparison with the achievements of modern art in this direction are still such as to be unequal to a very unfair degree. No doubt the expression of powerful emotion is not confined to the face, but communicates itself to the entire body, and so far it ought to be possible to argue whether or not the Greeks were deficient in this respect. But besides actual monuments there are literary traditions from which it may be gathered, for instance, that Philoktetes with the cruel wound in his foot was the subject of a statue by a celebrated sculptor.<sup>1</sup> This subject occurs in several minor works where the details of expression could not be expected, but where nevertheless it can easily be seen from the attitude that his pain is intense. The story goes that Parrhasios, the painter, a friend apparently of Socrates, purchased an Olynthian captive, and put him to torture to be a model for his picture of Prometheus. It may be untrue, as many stories of painters then and since appear to be, but there need be no doubt of the existence of the painting, and the expression of physical pain which it conveyed. Then there is the incident of Telephos, who, after suffering long from a wound in his leg, caused by the spear of Achilles, and learning that it could only be cured by some rust scraped from the spear which caused it, went to Agamemnon, and, seizing the infant Orestes, refused to give him up till the remedy was granted. That subject we know also in works of

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject of expression of mine in the *Architect*, Oct. 8th, I have followed largely an article 1877.

art. Kresilas, a contemporary, and to some extent, according to tradition, a rival of Pheidias, made a statue of a wounded warrior in which it was just possible to see that there was life left in him, and this same Kresilas, it is reported, executed also a figure of a wounded Amazon, apparently in competition with Pheidias and Polykleitos. The several existing copies of the wounded Amazon are, not without some reason, traced to this original. It is true that they have not an expression of abject pain, if that is what is wanted, nor would that be consistent with the high tone of character in an Amazon. But to judge from the head of one of those wounded Amazons in the British Museum, it is obvious that the face, though entirely free from distortion, is yet searched through and through with pain.

So far we have considered mainly "expression" arising from bodily pain, as to which, indeed, no serious complaint can ever be made, since it cannot well be defended as a legitimate subject of high art at any time or in any country. But the real weight of the charge against the Greeks is understood to refer to their deficiency in the expression of spiritual emotions. It is, of course, no answer to this—though it may be to some extent an explanation of the circumstance—that most of the deities who occupy so large a space in Greek sculpture were beings of too serene a nature to be subject to noticeable emotions; and again, there may be some confirmation of the charge in the fact that when the Greek did render a display of fierce passion or of excited joy he frequently chose such abnormal beings as centaurs for the one and satyrs for the other, as if such feelings were only proper to a lower order of creation. The centaurs in the Phigaleian frieze are wild with rage. Those of the Parthenon metopes have a brutal or a sensual expression, according to their purpose for the moment. Further, there is the well-known tale of the



picture by Timanthes, in which Agamemnon, called to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia, was represented as turning away his head to hide his grief. Nothing, under the circumstances, could have been more natural. Yet it may be admitted as an instance of avoiding the open display of emotion which probably many modern painters would have attempted—hardly, however, with success.

On the other hand we know that Aristotle objected to the character of the painting of his time on the ground of its fondness for the representation of the emotions, of *pathos*, as he called it, and urged in preference the old style of Polygnotos with its *ethos*, or high ethical character. What he says of painting must have applied then to sculpture also, since Scopas and Praxiteles had become celebrated through their rendering of the passions and emotions. Had we their works now we would probably hear little of the want of expression in Greek sculpture. As it is, we have several fragments of the sculptures of Scopas at Tegea which together with various late copies of the destruction of the Niobides, by him, in particular the figure of Niobe, should go far to upset the common charge. There is also in the British Museum a marble statue of Demeter, from Knidos, a town in the neighbourhood of Halicarnassus, where Scopas is known to have worked on the sculptures of the Mausoleum. We do not go so far as to say, with Brunn, that her face may be compared to that of a Madonna; or that its expression entirely reveals her maternal feelings of sorrow at the loss of her daughter Persephone, mingled with gladness at the conviction that in due time she would return to her again in the sunshine of the fields. To a skilled eye such as Brunn's there may be all that in the Demeter, but to take only the opinion of the ordinary observer it may safely be assumed that the face of this figure will convey to him invariably an expression of *pathos*.



That these instances of Demeter, Niobe, and the Niobides, which survive from the school of Scopas and his contemporaries, must be regarded as inadequately representing the pathetic character of that school, is clear from the literary notices of it which have been handed down in ancient writers. Equally certain is it that the pathetic character of works of art in the time of Aristotle was highly objectionable to him, and this fact, while in a measure justifying the charge of want of expression, since it shows that in the art previous to Aristotle such deficiency was a conspicuous feature, cuts away at the same time all ground for a general charge of this kind against Greek sculpture, even if we limit it to sculpture of the highest order, in which the figures were of an ideal character. If, on the other hand, we take it as applying also to minor works of art, there will be found a considerable variety of examples to prove that the Greek was a master of expression when he chose, though undoubtedly these very examples, by being exceptional, show that as a rule, taking his work from first to last, his tendency was to avoid the display of feeling or passion. That, however, is not the charge against him, which is rather that he was incapable of rendering spiritual emotions, or had not discovered the beauty which is inherent in the expression of certain conditions of mind.

In avoiding all temporary and passing phases of mind in his ideal representations the Greek only obeyed a law of idealization, since the rendering of such phases would have the effect of individualizing his figures, or at least, have a tendency in this direction. But while in the best period of his art obeying this law generally, it is obvious that he was neither unacquainted with the beauty of emotional expression nor deficient in the facility of rendering it.

On the other hand, it must be admitted as true, that

the Greek—however good his reasons may have been—avoided many opportunities of expressing pain which more recent sculptors would have seized, and so far the charge of deficiency in expression may be allowed to stand, since it conveys no blame. But there are other cases where it seems impossible to set up any defence except that of incapacity in this direction. Of this the best example is furnished by the *Ægina* sculptures in Munich, where the combatants, whether victorious or vanquished, have each and all the same gentle smile on their faces. With all its excellence the art of sculpture had not then arrived at the stage of perfect freedom and mastery which it attained under Pheidias, and from the analogy of the development of painting in more modern times, it need not surprise us that in Greek sculpture the power of expressing emotion was one of the last to be acquired previous to its culmination. But it is one thing to charge the want of this power upon an early stage of the art, and another thing to charge it on the art altogether.

As regards humour, there may have been more of it than appears as yet from the remains. An example worthy of notice is that of a painted vase in the British Museum, on which is Achilles sulking and sitting immovable, wrapped closely in his mantle. His mother Thetis and her attendant Nereids arrive with the new armour. She places an arm round his neck, and while she is thus in the act of coaxing him to rise and gird himself, one of the Nereids who stands behind looking on cannot control her sense of the ridiculousness of the situation, and has to put up her hand over her face to hide this feeling. Of what may rather be called fun there is an abundance, but it is mostly allotted to the Satyrs, a class of beings who served the Greek artist at every turn when he had strong but pleasurable emotions to express.

The aim and end of a work of imitative art is to give pleasure to the spectator, that pleasure consisting in the first place in the identity which he recognizes between the imitation and the original. To take the example employed by Aristotle; a portrait does not awaken the same delight in a person who is unacquainted with the subject of it, as in one who is familiar with him. But even then the unfamiliar spectator will recognize touches of feature indicating this or that human characteristic which he knows, and from this will proceed one source of pleasure. Hence, for the benefit of the spectator, imitative art should endeavour to evoke from him the noblest feelings which it can realize with the material at its command. With skill a base work may be made to please base men, and if all the world were no better than they, the art might so far be called perfect. But it is the duty of the artist to search for what is best, and it is in this that he shows the wisdom which Aristotle associates with the highest gifts in art. In this respect he speaks of Pheidias and Polykleitos as ἀκριβέστατοι. At the same time it need hardly be said that no efficiency in selecting the good can be of any avail unless supported by the faculty which has already been spoken of as inspiration, and which in ancient, no less than in modern times, has been referred to as a species of madness or "fine frenzy," whether in the poet's or the artist's eye.

In speaking of the essential difference between history and poetry, Aristotle<sup>1</sup> points out that the historian relates what has occurred, while the poet tells what like the things occurred or how they occurred, and thus he is naturally thrown into the attitude of identifying himself with the several actors in his poem. He can identify

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<sup>1</sup> Poet. ix. ed. Dindorf. The passages of Aristotle bearing on the theory of art will be found

collected and discussed with great clearness in Döring's *Kunstlehre des Aristoteles*, Jena, 1876.

himself with their words and actions, but not with their personal forms. These he can at most touch but lightly, following the example of Homer,<sup>1</sup> who could only describe the beauty of Helena by saying it was not strange that for such a woman two nations endured ills so long a time. The formative artist, on the other hand, would in such a case have to do above all with the beauty of Helena; and if Aristotle's distinction<sup>2</sup> is to include him along with the poet, of course with special differences, it would follow that he also must render the qualities displayed in the action which he chooses to represent, and must identify himself with the persons of the action while exhibiting these qualities.

So far, in speaking of imitative art, we have thought chiefly of sculpture, though undoubtedly the term includes also both painting and poetry, each, however, with certain special characteristics, upon which, so far as poetry is concerned, nothing need here be said. As regards painting, excluding the modern practice of it, and referring only to that of the Greeks, it may be observed that everything said of the theory of sculpture applies equally to it.<sup>3</sup> The field of subjects may have been wider. Still, in the main, it was bounded by the limits of rendering the human figure momentarily engaged in some action or attitude which expressed the character of the being, for the moment at least. That the Greeks did not perceive in a landscape the charms which it now

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 156.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem that this must be so from the way in which he illustrates what he has just said of poets (*Poet.* ii., ed. Dind.) by referring to the works of three painters, Polygnotos, Pauson, and Dionysios, of whom he says that they respectively painted men better than they are, worse than

they are, and just as they are.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the application holds good as far as form is concerned. The effect produced by colour is confined to the sensual organs, and corresponds broadly to the indications of flesh, for example, in sculpture. On this point compare W. von Humboldt's *Æsthetische Versuche*, p. 80.



generally exercises, may be admitted. But that they saw other, and perhaps more profound charms in it is manifest from their personifications of the phenomena of Nature. Their imagination was naturally intensive, concentrative, and finally plastic (εὐπλαστος). With this against them, it is not surprising that they never developed the technical skill and command of material necessary for landscape painting.



## CHAPTER II.

### FIRST STAGES IN TECHNICAL SKILL.

Handicraft as a preparation for fine art—Earliest forms of ornament—Drawings on bones from the caves of France—Influence of material—Principles of ornament—Conflicting theories—Industrial art in the Homeric poems—Available material—Handicraftsmen not professional—Homeric decoration—Influence of the Phœnicians—What the Greeks learned from them—Construction in stone—Decoration by means of plates of copper or bronze—Ornament on early vases.

WHEN art and handicraft are found in full operation side by side, the difference between them is obvious; but when, as in the early history of Greece, we see handicraft alone in the course of its development, there is a strong temptation to enquire whether and how far it may have led up to the origin of fine art. For this limited purpose it is not necessary to consider more than the decorative element in handicraft.

There is not, it may be said, any work of man's hands so rude and primitive in fashion as not to display to some extent a result of the great human desire to decorate, and we may say also that the earliest form which it assumes, setting aside such instances as the mere selection of costly and rare materials, is a simple pattern of parallel lines. From this the decorative instinct advances to complicated schemes of geometric lines, then to figures of flowers, of animals, and finally of men. Such appears to be its course so long as it proceeds in constant subordination to handicraft. But in the meantime, what strictly artistic experiments may

not have been made, in the shape, for example, of rudely scratched figures of animals or men, it is impossible to say, when it is remembered that animals are often drawn with spirit by the people who lived apparently in a primitive condition in the caves of France.<sup>1</sup> Nor, again, is it possible, as regards the Greeks, to determine how far foreign intercourse may have suggested schemes of ornament out of their proper place in the natural development of the spirit of decoration. Against all such influences the handicraftsman was compelled to hold himself in check. Whatever others might accomplish in mere waywardness, he was bound to keep always in view the necessities of his special occupation. If a potter, he had to learn gradually, and by experience, the capabilities of his clay to receive and preserve ornament, and the conditions imposed by the spaces available for it. Similarly, if a worker in wood, metal, or textile fabrics, he must acquire a mastery of the limits set by his material, and by the forms into which it was first of all necessary it should be fashioned.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Revue Archéologique*, 1874 (N. S., xxvii.), pl. 10, are given two views of the singularly artistic figure of a reindeer, incised on a piece of reindeer horn and found in the cave of Thaïngen in Switzerland, in 1874, speaking of which M. A. Bertrand (p. 306) says that it upsets the speculative theory of a regular development of man according to fixed stages equally applicable to all races. Among several other examples given in an article in the *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. ix. (1864), one (p. 261) is remarkable for the skill with which the figure of the animal is accommodated to the natural form of the piece of bone on which it is carved. The writers

of the article, MM. Lartet and Christy, point out (p. 264) that so much skill is not easily reconciled with an age of primitive antiquity till we compare the fact that Swiss mountaineers living in a state of perfect simplicity and without tools exhibit no less skill in producing figures of their favourites, the chamois. On the other hand, the simplest Swiss mountaineer in our day must at some time of his life have seen some artistic imitation of natural life produced among a more advanced race, and the mere sight of such a thing would suggest to his mind a possibility which otherwise would most likely never have occurred to it.

If the material were costly, as gold and ivory always were, it might speak for itself in large masses, and in such a case the decoration could be relegated to striking points in the construction of the article ; or if the material were poor, as in woven cloth, the entire surface might call for decoration. In short, the variety of considerations was infinite, always, however, within the bounds of certain simple leading principles, and doubtless it was due to the fixity of these principles, to the severity with which a successful result once obtained was handed on, and to the fact that no beginner could give way to mere fancy until he had first become entirely acquainted with all that had been done by predecessors in his own special field, that there arose the singular uniformity which characterises Greek decoration as compared with the mobility and freedom of design in modern times.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that there have been two different ways of regarding these principles. According to the one authority,<sup>2</sup> the proper duty of ornament when applied to construction of any kind, is to illustrate or reveal the idea embodied in the construction, by means of an analogy from some object in nature which may be familiarly observed performing a like function. Thus, the fluting of the column of a temple will suggest the static function of the column to any one who notices the analogy between it and the stem of an umbelliferous plant. But a stem of this kind suggests only the fluting, not the idea of the column itself, which is a thing to be thought out on mathematical principles. It is then argued that the constructive design and its illustrative form and ornament came into existence in the designer's

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<sup>1</sup> This will be found stated more fully by Count de Gobineau in the *Rev. Arch.* 1874 (N. S. xxvii.)

p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*.

mind simultaneously. It is no matter from what kingdom of nature he may borrow his ornament so long as it illustrates or expresses the constructive function of the object. The only condition is that it must not be realistic, since then its purpose, which is to attract attention to itself only as an analogy, would be defeated.

In opposition to this view of the question is the theory of Semper,<sup>1</sup> which sets forth as its preamble, that however aptly the earliest known forms of ornament may express the constructive functions of the objects to which they are applied, it is yet clear that their origin is not to be sought for in connection with these objects of construction, since the earliest of them present a combination of elements which, in a still earlier phase of handicraft, must have existed separately as distinct forms of ornament applicable to a different set of constructive objects. In this respect the primary elements of ornament are compared to the roots of a language. New words, new forms of ornament there are none; every appearance of novelty in both cases is but a new combination of the old elements. But though the origin of the primary elements of ornament is to be assigned to a period of civilization of which there are no remains, it is still possible to estimate the conditions which attended their origin, by considering the needs of primitive man and the raw materials at his disposal to meet those needs. The materials may be classed according as they are—(1) flexible, tough, and of great absolute strength; (2) soft, plastic, capable of hardening, of taking any variety of shape, and of retaining it when hardened; (3) column-shaped, elastic, and with special relative strength, *i.e.*, along their length; (4) solid, aggregate in its nature, capable of resisting pressure,

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<sup>1</sup> Der Stil oder praktische Ästhetik. Munich, 1860-3.



and suited to be cut into pieces, which may be combined for the purpose of resisting pressure. With each of these specific qualities of the material originated one of the four primitive arts: with the first, textile art, *i.e.* weaving, &c.; with the second, pottery; with the third, construction (tectonic); and with the fourth, masonry.<sup>1</sup> In time one of these arts would find suited to its purpose in some degree a material strictly proper to another. For example, a wicker-basket must be classed as regards its form with pottery, but as regards its process of manufacture, with the textile art; while clay, which is the proper inheritance of the potter, is serviceable also to the sculptor for modelling, though a clay figure so modelled cannot be classed as pottery. With this interchange of material took place also interchanges of ornament, as when the early Greek potter adapted for his vases the patterns of wickerwork. Again, metal was a material serviceable to all four arts. Of these four, it seems highly probable that man applied himself first to textile fabrics and to pottery, with perhaps a precedence in favour of the former.

To take now the condition of the technical arts, as it may be gathered from the oldest Greek records, the Homeric poems, it will be remarked as having been in all probability conducive to their better development that the exercise of them instead of being relegated to special classes corresponding to the *βάνανσον πλήθος* of Aristotle,

<sup>1</sup> As an instance of the way in which the conditions of material are constantly being neglected, there may be mentioned the not uncommon pattern of metal railing in which the upright bars are made to imitate ropes. But the true function of a rope is to resist pressure along its whole length, whereas the function of the upright bars

of a railing is to resist pressure from all points, but especially from the sides. Hence they should be composed of a material capable of a solid resistance, and no doubt the bars in question are so capable. The fault is that their appearance raises a false impression, as if like ropes they might easily yield to pressure from the sides.



was shared in by princes and queens. It may well have been rare to find among princes such varied skill as had been shown by Ulysses when he built for his bride, Penelope, a new chamber of stone, and made for it a couch of wood, ornamented with gold, silver, and ivory.<sup>1</sup> Yet obviously his rank could have suffered no derogation from an exhibition of that skill of handicraft which formed the greatest characteristic of one of the principal deities, Hephæstos; and if few followed his example, that would be due perhaps rather to the urgency of warlike occupation in those days. Again, so long as the goddess Athena was regarded as the type of excellence in spinning and weaving, nothing but honour could attach to the same occupation when conducted by the queen of the Phæacians or by princesses like Helena or Andromache. Under these circumstances, and since there is no other fact to the contrary, it may be concluded that the skilled workmen or demiurgi then enjoyed general respect and consideration. Some few are specially cited by name,<sup>2</sup> as if the mention of them would recall a wide reputation. That more of them are not mentioned, considering the great number of articles that are specified in the poems as remarkable for the skill of their workmanship, is difficult to explain; unless on the well-founded presumption that these workmen generally stood in a relation of feudal inferiority to their several princes, and for this reason were not in the

<sup>1</sup> Odyssey, xxiii. 190 fol. So also Paris constructed his own palace in Troy himself, with the help of skilled workmen, τέκτονες ἄνδρες.

<sup>2</sup> Ikmalios, who made the throne of ivory and silver for Penelope, Odyssey, xix. 56. Tychios, who made the shield of Ajax, Iliad, vii. 220. Laerkes the goldsmith (χρυσ-

σοχός), whom Nestor summoned to gild the horns of the ox for sacrifice, and who brought with him his anvil, hammer, and tongs, Odys. iii. 425, cf. Od. vi. 232. Besides these are mentioned Polybos, a worker in leather, Od. viii. 373; and Phereklos, son of Harmonides, both father and son being tectones, Iliad, v. 59.

position of men free to offer their skill wherever there were persons to bid for it. In short, there could not then have been many of the class of independent tradesmen,<sup>1</sup> a class to which apparently belonged Tychios, the shield maker, of Hyle, in Bœotia; and altogether there can be little doubt that the Greeks at this time were greatly behind the Phœnicians in the business of selling and dealing in articles produced by themselves or in their own workshops.

As regards the supply of raw material, it is again illustrative of a certain feudal relationship to find the Taphian prince Mentès<sup>2</sup> going himself to Temessus in Cyprus to exchange his iron for copper. That in most towns, such as they were, there existed places and people to facilitate this exchange of one article for another may be inferred from the remark of Achilles,<sup>3</sup> to the effect that the winner of the piece of iron offered as a prize in the games would not for a long time require to send to the town for more. It may be remembered also that a night of hilarity was spent in the Greek camp at Troy following on the arrival of the ships from Lemnos, with wine sent by Prince Euneos, for which the Greeks bartered bronze, iron, hides, oxen and slaves.<sup>4</sup> Such materials as ivory and amber could only be obtained through commerce with foreign nations, while even in articles which the Greeks themselves could produce, the older civilizations of Assyria and Egypt supplied them, through the medium of the Phœnicians, with more skilfully executed specimens, as, for

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<sup>1</sup> On this question see Riedemann, *Handwerk und Handwerker in den Homerischen Zeiten*, p. 9 fol.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyss.* i. 180 fol.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, xxiii. 826-835. This passage may imply either that the

winner himself, perhaps with the help of itinerant smiths, would make the iron into ploughshares, or that he sent it to the town to be so manufactured. See Buchholz, *Homerische Realien*, pt. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, vii. 467 fol.

example, the splendid robes<sup>1</sup> brought by Paris from Sidon, or the silver *crater* which Achilles offered as a prize, the work of skilled Sidonians, and far excelling in beauty everything of the kind in the world. It had been brought by Phœnicians over the sea.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptians would have practically a monopoly in the



Fig. 1.—Sphinx, in ivory. From tomb at Spata, in Attica.

supply of ivory, and it would be curious if they had been content to export it as so much raw material instead of for the most part in the form of manufactured articles of luxury. This much is certain, that among the large number of objects in this substance discovered by Layard in Assyria, a very considerable part are manifestly Egyptian in design and in the method of execution. It has been usual to trace these articles to

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 289. These robes are called the work of Sidonian women, perhaps to be consistent with Greek usage, but the probability is that this class of work was performed in Phœnicia, as in Egypt, by men. It is true that Herodotus (ii. 35) calls this a peculiarity of the Egyptians; but in Cyprus, which was nearly as Phœnician as Sidon itself, the names of two men, Akesas and Helikon, famous for their textile fabrics, have been handed down

(*Athen.* ii. 48, B.); while in the *Supplikes* Æschylus represents Pelasgos as surprised at the Lybian costume of the daughters of Danaos, with its *Cypriote* character and its evidence of being the work of male hands (*Supp.* 279–284). See *Gazette Archéologique*, 1877, p. 119. In another instance Homer speaks of a Sidonian vase as the work of a Greek god Hephæstos, obviously to be conformable to Greek usage (*Odys.* iv. 617).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxiii. 743.

the workshops of the Phœnicians, who, it is well known, frequently imitated Egyptian designs with surprising exactness to the spirit, though, perhaps, rarely without essential errors in detail. But in the present case there would seem to be less necessity for recourse to them.<sup>1</sup> That foreign workmen were ever imported, it would be rash to infer conclusively from the instance of the legendary Cyclopes from Lycia, who built the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ, but doubtless captives in war were compelled to work at occupations profitable to their masters, and by this means certain foreign elements may have been introduced.

The various handicrafts prosecuted by the Greeks in Homeric times include spinning, weaving and embroidery, pottery, saddlery, carpentry, masonry, working in gold, silver, copper, *kuanos*, iron, tin and lead. Some of the designations of metals are confessedly vague. *Chalkos*, originally the name of copper, still continued to be applied when the copper alloyed with a small percentage of tin, came to be what is now called bronze, but whether this alloy was actually known in the Homeric times is more than open to doubt. The *chalkeus*,<sup>2</sup> or smith, was a worker in all metals. Again, it has been questioned whether the term, *kassiteros*, as employed by the poet, properly corresponds to the qualities of tin, though ancient authority is in the affirmative. But the chief difficulty is in determining the nature of *kuanos*, which would appear to be steel or an artificial substance resembling steel in appearance but formed of a glass paste such as has been found in the tombs at Mycenæ and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Certainly it would seem that if one

<sup>1</sup> Such ivory as was used for inlaying would be imported unworked perhaps. Iliad, iv. 141, speaks of Carian and Lydian women who stain ivory with the purple dye.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Riedenauer, Hand-

werk, &c., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Gladstone, *Juventus Mundi*, p. 531, identifies it with bronze: Buchholz, *Homerische Realien* (Leipzig, 1871), pt. ii., p. 323-5, quotes the various epithets of



metal more than another could be compared for its brilliant colours with a rainbow and with serpents, as is the *kuanos* in the armour of Agamemnon, that metal is steel. Nor can it be forgotten that a process of making, if not actually steel yet something very like it, was known, since it is attested by an incident the memory of which can never be effaced (Od. ix. 391). Ulysses, recounting how he and his companions thrust the red-hot point of a stake into the one eye of Polyphemus as he lay overcome with wine and sleep, says that the blood hissed as when a smith dips a great axe into cold water to harden it, for in that is the strength of iron.

From a just observation of the qualities of these metals were drawn numerous metaphors to distinguish the endurance, hardness of heart, or other characteristics of men. Of silver<sup>1</sup> little is said compared with the splendour of description into which gold leads the poet. Every person and everything that need be is rich in this metal to such a degree that we are driven to recollect that all this poetic gold could never have been justified by the actual possessions of Homer's time, even admitting to the full extent the active commerce with the East indicated in the poems.<sup>2</sup> In Greece proper it is known that in the earliest historic period gold hardly existed, while so late comparatively as the 70th Olympiad it was a great rarity.<sup>3</sup> As

*chalkos* and the uses to which it was applied. In a subsequent chapter he deals similarly with *kuanos*, believing it to be steel. Helbig, Homer., Epos, 2nd ed. p. 101, maintains the view that this word when applied to the decoration of palaces means an artificial glass paste.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, ii. 857, mentions Alybe (on the Pontos) as a place whence

silver was obtained. We hear of silver vases, tables, work-baskets, &c., and we know of the process of gilding silver from the Odyssey, vi. 232.

<sup>2</sup> This view is urged by Schömann, Griech. Alterthümer, i. p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Boeckh, Economy of Athens, Eng. transl., i. p. 13. Compare Schömann, Griech. Alterth., i. p. 73.

regards ivory, which also was a favourite material of decoration, it has already been suggested that it may have been imported chiefly in a manufactured state, and the likelihood of this is confirmed by the fact of the poet's being to all appearance entirely unacquainted with the animal from which it was obtained. This point is referred to by Pausanias (i. 12, 4), who remarks that had Homer known about the elephant he would have made poetic use of him in preference to the combats of pigmies and cranes. False dreams issued through a gate of ivory,<sup>1</sup> Penelope's complexion was as of ivory, and not a few were the works either made of or decorated by it.

It could hardly be expected that any detailed description of the tools then employed by workmen would be found in the poems. We know only in general terms that the smith used tongs, hammer, anvil, a block for the anvil, and bellows;<sup>2</sup> the carpenter had his axe, chisel, and drill,<sup>3</sup> and the potter his wheel moving like a quick dance;<sup>4</sup> while the spindle, distaff, and loom<sup>5</sup> were ready to the service of well-trained ladies and their handmaids.

It will be seen from this general review that a considerable degree of technical skill had existed among the Greeks of the Homeric age. Equally clear, however, is it that this skill was not as yet concentrated in the hands of professional classes of workmen, since even princes of high station worked for themselves or conducted their own business. The professional workmen of those days wherever great skill was needed were the Phœnicians,

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xix. 562; xviii. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, xviii. 468-477.

<sup>3</sup> Odyss. xxiii. 196-8.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad, xviii. 600.

<sup>5</sup> On weaving see Hertzberg in

the Philologus, 1876, p. 6, and Ahrens, *ibid.* p. 385 fol. Compare Blümner, Technologie, i., p. 107, for spinning, and p. 120 for weaving.

and it was to commerce with them that the Greeks appear to have turned when they desired to procure articles of this higher order. They had themselves only learned as yet what has been called the alphabet of art.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it must be obvious that the poet has not unfrequently attributed to objects a splendour which it may be presumed not even the Phœnicians could have lent them, as, for example, in the palace of Alkinöos,<sup>2</sup> with its walls of copper, doors of gold, threshold of silver, figures of dogs in gold and silver at the entrance, and of youths of gold within, acting as torch-bearers. Less gorgeous, but on a similar model, is the palace of Menelaos,<sup>3</sup> rivalling that of Zeus himself in Olympos. With every allowance for poetic embellishment, we may argue that since a poet cannot create out of nothing, there must have been here also some foundation in reality. So far as the walls of shining metal are concerned, such a foundation is discovered in the fact that the walls of the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, a building probably of near the Homeric date, were plated with copper. With this to start from, the poet would be free to add whatever splendour or effulgence he could conceive, always, however, keeping within the range of the known qualities of the materials. But when he speaks of figures of dogs

<sup>1</sup> See Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, München, 1868, and compare my article in the *Contemporary Review*, 1874, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. vii. 81 fol.

<sup>3</sup> Odyss. iv. 71. Within the historical period we know of the temple of Athene Chalkioekos in Sparta, in which copper or bronze appears to have been applied in a similar manner for mural decoration, while as regards sculpture we find Pausanias (iii. 17, 6)

speaking of a statue of Zeus, in Sparta, made of plates of bronze nailed together, as one of the oldest figures he knew, and thus confirming the early use of plates of this material for decoration. From the ruins of Assyria there is now a considerable amount of evidence shewing the very general employment of bronze or copper plates for the coating or decoration of structures in wood.

or of youths sculptured in precious metals, the difficulty assumes a graver aspect, not that there is anything improbable in assuming the poet to have seen such objects, if different in scale and less ambitious, produced by the Phœnicians, but because there is some temptation to think that it might be within the power of imagination to conceive living beings, like the golden handmaidens of Hephæstos, fashioned of gold instead of flesh and blood, without any previous knowledge of the existence of such a thing as a sculptured figure.<sup>1</sup> Such an opinion will hardly be maintained, for, in the first place, the mere possibility of it is open to question, and in the second place, the poet would not be intelligible to the degree so characteristic of him elsewhere. On this view of the question it is necessary to enquire how far the Phœnicians may in fact have furnished him with at least the main elements from which he constructed those ambitious works of art. It would be enough if we discovered only the elements, though some of the examples may have existed in a slightly different form. It would be unpardonable to suppose that he had ever beheld a shield comparable in variety of design and material with that which he describes as the work of the Greek god Hephæstos, and as made for Achilles. Nor need we imagine that the most princely armour of his day equalled that which was presented to Agamemnon by

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone, *Homeric Syn-chronism*, p. 59, says of Homer, "Even if he had never seen any representations of life, his imagination might have conceived them." Again, "That Homer had seen his shield of Achilles is in my belief just as true as that Dante had seen his *Paradiso*." But on p. 56 we read, "All fine art in Homer is foreign in its associa-

tions," which when compared with the following from *Juventus Mundi*, p. 123, that "the most important works of art named in the poems are obtained from Phœnicians," shows that Mr. Gladstone was himself one of the first, if not the first, to point out the true direction in which the inspiration of Homer as concerns works of art is to be found.



Kinyras, the king of Cyprus, an island which from the earliest times was associated with Phœnician skill in metal working. But we may stop to consider how far what is at present known of the art of the Phœnicians and the other ancient nations with which they were in contact, confirms the theory that the designs on the shield of Achilles, though ascribed to the Greek god Hephæstos, were founded, not perhaps altogether upon actual works of art, but on a true knowledge of the capacity of art which could only have been derived from the sight of extensive and ambitious sculptures.

In contrast with the clearness of the fact that in the Homeric times all the choicest and best examples of technical skill possessed by the Greeks had come to them from the Phœnicians, there has been a considerable degree of difficulty in obtaining exact and conclusive evidence as to the essential features of the art of this people at this period. On the other hand, through the fortunate circumstance that of late years this subject, greatly enlarged by successful explorations<sup>1</sup> on

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<sup>1</sup> Of these explorations mention should be made of (a) Della Marmora, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, with his excavations at Tharros, Sulcis, and Cagliari. From Phœnician, or it may be Carthaginian sites in Sardinia the British Museum possesses a series of gold ornaments, engraved scarabæi and terra cotta figures, all characteristic of what is set down as Phœnician art. (b) M. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, in which attention should be drawn to the stele, pl. 4, fig. 8, where the design of two gryphons corresponds singularly with that of two sphinxes on a stele found by Cesnola at Golgoi in Cyprus (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 117). Again,

Renan, pl. 4, fig. 7, gives a stele the upper part of which is sculptured with a pattern identical with that on the borders of the sarcophagus from Amathus in Cyprus (Cesnola, pl. 14). Renan's two stelæ are engraved also by Longperier in his *Musée de Napoléon III.*, pl. 18, figs. 3-4. (c) Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples*, who, from the extraordinary extent and success of his discoveries on specially Phœnician sites, has contributed most essential material for the study. (d) At isolated times there have been obtained from various localities with which the Phœnicians were known or presumed to have

ancient sites, has occupied the almost undivided attention of several distinguished investigators, it is now possible to recognize the main elements<sup>1</sup> of Phœnician design with certainty as they existed as far back at least as the early part of the seventh century B.C., and with every probability for some centuries earlier. It has been ascertained that the principal element consisted of an imitation and partial blending of designs borrowed directly from the two separate and distinct systems of artistic decoration peculiar to the Assyrians and to the Egyptians. No doubt at a later stage, when Greek art became independent, it also furnished models for the skilful Phœnicians, or their kinsmen the Carthaginians, to copy from. But before this took place, it appears to have been exclusively from the two nations just mentioned that they drew the sources of their artistic skill. Although, then, none of their artistic remains, as at present known, can be proved to reach farther back than about B.C. 700, speaking roundly, it will be fair to conclude that during the previous period, backward to the Homeric times, they were still equally

traded, the following specimens of richly decorated silver or silver-gilt bowls: two from Citium in Cyprus, Longperier, *Mus. Napol. III.*, pl. 10-11; four from the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cære, *Mus. Etrusco Vatic.*, i. pl. 63-6; one from Salerno, *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 44 (cf. *Annali*, 1872, p. 243); from Præneste two bowls, *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 31, fig. 1, and pl. 32, fig. 1, one of them (engraved also *Gazette Arch.*, 1875, pl. 5) having a Phœnician inscription. Besides these, numerous other articles of Phœnician workmanship were found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb and at

Præneste.

<sup>1</sup> Before all, Helbig, *Homer. Epos*, 2nd ed. Previous to him the subject of Assyrian influence on early Greek art, through the medium of the Phœnicians, had been fully discussed from the Homeric point of view by Brunn in his *Kunst bei Homer*, and partly by me in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, 1874, p. 218. The evidence as to the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian elements of design in the Phœnician productions is exceedingly extensive, but nowhere clearer than in the silver bowls already cited.

characterised by their imitation of Assyrian and Egyptian designs. This conclusion, reasonable in itself, is further warranted by the existing descriptions of the works of art in Solomon's Temple to which the Phœnician artists and workmen sent by Hiram, King of Tyre, largely contributed. Its costly decoration with figures of bulls, lions, cherubim and palms, vividly recalls the now familiar examples of early Phœnician work on the one hand, and on the other the facts which have been presented by the discovery of palaces in Assyria. That these palaces in any one instance date back so far as the 11th cent. B.C., that is to say, the Homeric age, may not be capable of proof. Yet it can be seen from sculptures still remaining from certain of them, with an ascertained date of the 9th cent. B.C., that the condition of art obviously implies centuries of development, a fact otherwise rendered incontestable by numerous isolated objects, which from inscriptions on them are judged to belong to times as early as even 2200 B.C.<sup>1</sup> There is thus a chain of circumstances tending to prove the existence of a decided community in the spirit of design between the artistic productions of Assyria and of Phœnicia in the days of the poet. The presence of articles of Phœnician manufacture in the ruins of Assyria,<sup>2</sup> and in particular the discovery of a series of bronze weights inscribed in duplicate for the use of both nations, show that a considerable commerce had

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<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned to two small figures in bronze or copper bearing an inscription, now in the British Museum. There is a coarse realism in these figures which, if it shows want of skill, shows at the same time a certain freshness and natural vigour in the observation of life.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the large series of

ivories and the set of bronze weights already mentioned, the bronze bowls discovered by Layard should be specially cited, since they present so complete a parallel to the silver and silver-gilt bowls already spoken of as found along the known or presumed tracks of Phœnician trade. See Layard, pl. 61 and 66 in particular.

existed between them, and that this was in operation at a remote period may be gathered not only from the character of these objects, but still more from the statement of Herodotus (i. 1) that the beginning of the conflicts between Greece and the East was to be traced to Phœnician traders, who, having gone to sell Assyrian and Egyptian<sup>1</sup> wares at Argos, had carried off from thence, among other women, Ino, the daughter of the legendary king Inachos.

It is, however, to be remembered that with whatever success Homer may be shown to have had before him in some form works of Assyrian or Phœnician art when describing costly or ambitious designs, the fact thereby gained is only of secondary importance, inasmuch as it would not necessarily follow that these articles of foreign importation exercised any direct influence on the development of Greek art. That is what we have to consider. In an artistic sense, to use the phrase in its higher significance, the influence may have been slight, yet in certain technical processes, and in the forms of decoration evolved from them, it must have been very considerable. As regards copper or bronze, for example, the oldest traditions and the oldest remains in Greece<sup>2</sup> speak of its employment in thin plates for the covering and decoration of objects constructed of wood or other less valuable material. So, also, in Assyria, much remains to testify to this method in the

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<sup>1</sup> As to the influence of Egyptian designs, we shall, perhaps, be fully justified in concluding that though it had undoubtedly prevailed largely with the Phœnicians themselves, as seen in numerous instances of silver bowls and sculptures from Cyprus, yet the Egyptians did not materially succeed in communicating the spirit of these

designs to the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> Semper, *Der Stil*, i. p. 234, and pp. 432-6, where he discusses the influence of bronze working on the transition from the primitive wood to the later stone constructions, remarking that the friezes of Greek temples were sphyrelaton (that is, bronze hammered into designs in relief) metamorphosed into stone.



case of copper, and here there would seem to be no question that Assyria in this matter presents a far higher antiquity than Greece, while, as has been seen, the latter country had frequent opportunities of learning from the former. That the younger country had, in fact, learned from the older, may be demonstrated from the circumstance that whereas in Assyria the habit of plating wooden structures with copper was founded on utility and doubtless was evolved under necessity, from the scarcity of a durable and resisting material like marble or stone; in Greece, on the other hand, copper plating was applied to walls of stone,<sup>1</sup> which, from their massiveness and durability, have fairly withstood all the effects of time and barbarism from near the Homeric times till now. There was thus no obvious utility in the process, and for this reason no sufficient motive for the independent invention of it in Greece. In the matter of ornament, the forms which most naturally arise from copper working are spirals and circles, into either of which a thread of this metal when released at once casts itself. Next to these come zig-zags and other simple geometric patterns. Here, again, we find in the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ,<sup>2</sup> that a

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<sup>1</sup> The so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ is an example of this. Though none of the copper plates remain, the nails by which they had been fastened to the walls have been found. In historical times (middle of 7th century, B.C.) the treasury built at Olympia for the Sikyonians had two bronze chambers, by which Pausanias doubtless means chambers lined with bronze (Pausanias, vi. 19. 1). So also the temple of Athena Chalkioekos at Sparta, said by tradition to have been

begun by Tyndareus and his sons, and to have been many years after completed by Gitiadas, was of bronze, but probably also in the sense here contended for (Pausanias, iii. 17. 2, and x. 5. 11). Mr. Rassam has discovered at Balawat, in Assyria, the richly decorated copper platings from the wooden gates of two large monuments, constructed by Shalmaneser II., the date of them being B.C. 859-824.

<sup>2</sup> Semper, *Der Stil*, i. p. 439, points out also how the same method of ornament largely pre-

form of ornament consisting of spirals, circles, and zig-zags, strictly proper only to metal, has been adopted for the stone work, thus showing a certain conflict between a system of stone construction developed by the Greeks themselves, or at any rate independently of Assyria, which had not a national system of stone building, and a system of metal construction which they had borrowed from another country. It may be, as has been suggested, that Greece derived the original impetus to stone construction from Egypt, and to metal from Assyria. That she transferred forms of ornament from one to the other has just been seen, nor is it unlikely that the same process was followed in more ambitious designs. It is, for instance, in a high degree probable that the original idea of long narrow strips of bas-relief, such as are associated chiefly with the friezes of Greek temples, grew out of the system of covering and ornamenting walls with plates of copper.<sup>1</sup> It is not an idea

vails in the fragments of pottery found at Mycenæ, and indeed in the earliest pottery from Athens, Cyprus, and possibly wherever the art had been encouraged and perfected. Among the antiquities excavated at Præneste in 1862 was a vase of thin sheet copper, with rows of animals beaten up in low relief (engraved *Archæologia*, xli., pl. 6), very much resembling the pottery here in question. From the same source was obtained the silver plating which had been applied apparently to a vase made of wood and again ornamented with similar rows of animals (*Archæologia*, xli. pl. 10). In connection with this should be considered the custom very prevalent in Phœnician metal work of

plating a baser metal with a costlier one, as seen in the silver-gilt vases and in jewellery from Tharros in Sardinia, a habit which descended also, if in a less measure, to the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> The series of copper platings already mentioned as discovered by Mr. Rassam in Assyria, present long belts of warlike actions and other incidents precisely alike to the reliefs in alabaster obtained by Layard from the walls of the palaces, and it should be remembered that these alabaster slabs were themselves employed as facing material upon walls of brick, so that in this their primary purpose they are consistent with an origin from bronze similarly employed.

which stone itself, or any of the methods of working it, would have suggested, while on the other hand it is precisely such an idea as would be suggested by the facility with which figures are beaten up to a slight extent on plates of metal. In Assyria bas-reliefs predominate over all other forms of art. Among existing remains there are only some few examples of sculpture in the round, and of these not one can be called a fair attempt at rendering the human figure. Similarly, in Homer<sup>1</sup> there are no statues, unless as such may be counted the figure of Athene at Troy, the rudeness of which may be conjectured from its being described as having actual drapery put upon it. The earliest historically known works of Greek art are in relief, and the oldest bronze figure which Pausanias (iii. 17. 2) knew of, representing Zeus at Sparta, was made of plates of bronze nailed together.<sup>2</sup>

To take another example of the Greek, but not exclusively Greek, manner of transferring a plan of decoration originally characteristic of one material to objects of a different substance, it may be observed that in the history of Greek vase painting, there is an early artistic period distinguished by the constancy with which it presents us with parallel rows of animals. Not only are these creatures, where they represent real life, natural denizens of the East, and mostly unknown to Greece, but the conventionality of form and attitude assigned to them very distinctly suggests an Assyrian origin, while in the cases where the animals are purely fabulous, nothing could justify our denying to them an

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, vi. 302.

<sup>2</sup> The most conspicuous instance of this process at present known is a bronze bust found in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci in Etruria, and now in the British Museum, with

which were discovered several porcelain vases bearing incorrect imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and a porcelain scarab with the cartouche of Psammetichos I. (early part of 7th century B.C.).

original source, mainly in Assyria and partially in Egypt. Such is the general state of the question. Assyria had no painted vases from which these designs could have been directly borrowed. But she excelled in embroidery, as we see from the costumes on Assyrian sculptures. It was easy for the Asiatic Greeks to employ in the painting of vases designs which they had seen on Assyrian embroidery. Or, again, a similar impulse may have sprung from those bronze bowls discovered by Layard, specimens of which will be found to exhibit entirely similar rows of animals. That these bronze bowls were Phœnician productions made for an Assyrian market is allowed.

But while it may be admitted from this evidence that the Greeks had acquired through the Phœnicians a large practical knowledge of artistic procedure in Assyria and Egypt, it is equally a duty to recognize in the errors they committed when at first applying this new knowledge, the fact that they had not obtained from these countries a vital artistic impulse. It was not till afterwards, when they had slowly eliminated everything fabulous and unreasonable in the designs set before them by other nations, that their own true gifts of art came into full play, and entered on that career of artistic creation which has conferred glory on their name.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES.

How far a poetic creation—Based on ancient legend—How far based on ancient works of art—Contrast with chest of Kypselos—Comparison with Assyrian sculptures—Early Greek reliefs—Bronze shields—Form of the shield—Evidence of imitation of works of art—Arrangement of the various scenes—The shields of Herakles and Æneas—Sculptured lions of Mycenæ—Legendary builders and sculptors—Construction in stone—Dædalos.

THE occupation of the gods of Olympus was from their serene height to watch, control or interfere in whatever transpired on earth. They saw the rising and setting of the sun, moon and stars, they observed the seasons, and above all, they shared a profound interest in the affairs of mankind, whether living in cities, in peace or at war, whether ploughing the fields, gathering in harvest and vintage, or tending cattle. When, therefore, the divine artificer, Hephæstos, undertakes to produce a new shield for Achilles, and profusely embellishes it with artistic designs setting forth this comprehensive view of the world, it is evident that nothing could have been more consistent with his vocation and exalted position. But the gods also created the earth, with everything on it, and who shall say whether there may not have been known to Homer some such tradition of the successive stages of creation as has been preserved in the Chaldean and Biblical accounts of the Genesis ;<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 20, makes the shade of Homer say in reference to the dispute as to his birthplace, that he was really a

Babylonian, and was there called Tigranes, which name he changed to Homer among the Greeks.

and whether on that view the shield of Achilles may not represent a tradition of this kind under the guise of a work of art produced by a god? That the mind of the poet was working on some ancient legend is probable for various reasons, and equally reasonable is it to suppose that the origin of that legend is to be traced to a nation inhabiting a great inland country in the East, such as Assyria. It will be observed, for example, as a curious circumstance, that a Greek poet so well aware as Homer was of the importance of shipping among his countrymen, should yet in his view of human affairs on the shield give no place to ships. That would be natural enough to the Assyrians, practically shut out as they were from the sea. Or again, it is not a little remarkable that on the shield no place is assigned to the sacrificial and religious ceremonies of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, dancing and music, while appropriately associated with the marriage festivities of the city at peace and in the vintage scene, are again introduced at the close of the narrative, without any direct occasion for them, unless simply as a festive culmination for the whole shield, in the form of a jubilant chorus. Nor is it to be overlooked that the incident alleged in the poems to have brought about the need of a new shield, that is to say, the folly of Achilles in lending his armour to Patroklos to personate him with, has all the appearance of an incident naively invented to introduce a more or less familiar episode.

At all events the idea of such a shield is the thought of a poet living at a time when religious conceptions had arrived at a definite form through long stages of development, which can only be estimated by comparing the periods that must have elapsed before the language

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<sup>1</sup> This suggestion as to the communication from Mr. Glad-religious ceremonies I owe to a stone.

employed to express these conceptions had reached its special form in the poet's time. He no more made the gods than he made the language of his verse, though in regard to both he may have largely expanded what his predecessors had left. Similarly he could not have conceived the thought of a god executing a piece of imitative art, had no imitative art existed within his knowledge. The point to be determined is, from how little of this he may have been able to build up his imaginary structure. He himself, in connection with the shield, speaks of the artist Dædalos, who made for Ariadne a chorus resembling that of Hephæstos; and granting even that the personality of Dædalos may also have been a creation of the poet's, it is yet clear from the meaning of the name that he represented the artistic skill of the day. The chorus or dance here attributed to the Cretan sculptor exhibits a scene from present daily life, not from the past ages of legend or mythology, except from Homer's point of view. So also when he describes Helena as occupied in embroidering a robe with scenes from the war going on around her, he is obviously thinking of scenes which to him were of the past and therefore suitable for artistic representation, while, in fact, they were scenes of the present in his narrative.<sup>1</sup> Yet this is entirely consistent with the nature of the designs on the shield, with their sights and incidents of present

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<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 125. Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 12, sees no reason for suspecting this passage of the *Iliad*, as Overbeck had done. The robe worn by Demeter in a scene at Eleusis on a painted vase in the British Museum (*Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 43), is covered with designs, among which can be made out races in chariots and on foot, and probably is meant to convey

an idea of high antiquity. Compare *Bullet. d. Inst. Arch.* 1872, p. 41. On the robe annually embroidered at Athens for the ancient statue of Athena was figured the war of the Gods and Giants, the design of which, it can hardly be doubted, had been handed down with the image itself from an antiquity as remote perhaps as the time of Homer.

daily life. Equally consistent is it with what is known of Assyrian art, where the office of the sculptor was mainly to glorify the deeds of the reigning monarch and to render events from his daily life.

It will be seen that between the shield as described by Homer and the oldest historical work of art in Greece, the chest of Kypselos, a change has intervened which cannot well be explained if the shield be regarded as essentially Greek in its conception. On the chest of Kypselos the numerous subjects that are figured are drawn from legend and mythology. The names of all the personages are written beside them to convey explicit information. But on the shield we know none of the figures, and have no interest except in the action going forward. So also in the wide range of Assyrian sculptures it is in the main only incidents, not particular persons, that are exhibited to view, and in general terms this is the broad distinction which exists between the oldest known work of art in Greece on the one hand, and the shield of Achilles, together with the sculptures of Assyria, on the other. In one respect there is no change. For the figures on the chest of Kypselos are still disposed in long parallel bands. Nor is it in this matter an isolated example, since from the description of the throne of Apollo at Amyklæ, and from a series of existing remains of early Greek art, it is evident that no characteristic is more prevalent than this distribution of the figures in long parallel bands. That Homer had in view a similar distribution of his subjects, but in concentric bands, is rendered still more probable by the fact that this principle of decoration is seen to be carried out on a series of bronze shields recently found in the Grotta of Zeus on Mount Ida in Crete.<sup>1</sup> The designs

<sup>1</sup> Museo Italiano, ii. p. 690, pls. 1-12. Compare also the bronze shield found at Cære in Etruria. Mus. Gregorianum, i. pl. 18-20; see also shield from Præneste in the Mon. d. Inst. Arch. viii. pl. 26.



on these shields are clearly the work of Phœnician artists. So much may be inferred from the singular and striking compound which they present of Assyrian and Egyptian conceptions. It is possible, no doubt, that these shields had been made by Phœnicians resident in Crete, though nothing appears to be known otherwise of such residents. A more likely alternative is that they had been imported into Crete, and if imported, the nearest source was Cyprus, with its abundance of Phœnician residents skilled in the working of bronze. It was from the Cypriote king Kinyras that Agamemnon obtained a present of splendid armour. In the course of the 8th and 7th cent. B.C., Cyprus was under the sway of the Assyrian king Sargon and his successors. It is argued that it was during this period that the Cretan shields had been fashioned. In confirmation of this view there is the fact that the British Museum possesses a bronze shield of the same nature from Lake Van and bearing the name of Sargon.

On this analogy a shield of a circular form has been proposed, and commonly accepted, with a boss in the middle and four concentric bands.<sup>1</sup> For various reasons I have chosen a different form, no less ancient. It is enlarged from a shield carried by Achilles on an archaic Greek vase found at Kameiros in Rhodes, now in the British Museum, and is identical in shape with the shield which Hephæstos hands to Thetis on a vase in Berlin. But apart from that, it will be admitted that the

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<sup>1</sup> First proposed by Welcker in his *Zeitschrift*, i. p. 553, and afterwards fully detailed and discussed by Brunn in his *Kunst bei Homer*. This arrangement in concentric bands was accepted also by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd in his *Shield of Achilles* (1854); but he is uncer-

tain whether some of the subjects may not have been rendered by means of personifications instead of realistically. On his frontispiece is figured, from a vase, Hephæstos giving Thetis a shield of exactly the form adopted by me.

form of shield here adopted has not only the advantage of allowing a distribution of the subjects better calculated to bring out their contrasts, as from peace to war, or from agricultural to pastoral life, but it offers at the same time a series of natural in the place of arbitrary divisions between the various scenes.

As regards the illustrations on the accompanying Plate, selected as they have been from works of art of Phœnician, Assyrian, Egyptian and early Greek origin, it may be argued, that being on the whole just such works as Homer was most likely to have been acquainted with through the Phœnician commerce of his day, they might on that account constitute a sufficient reason for assuming that the poet in his description of the shield started with an artistic basis for each of his scenes, whether or not he had a poetic tradition for his conception of the entire design. But besides this, there is a certain amount of direct evidence on the point. For example, in the cattle scene, where two lions attack and devour a bull, there is every indication of the incident taking place by daylight, perhaps early in the morning, whereas in fact, the lion seizes his prey at night usually. Nor is there any ground for making an exception in this instance when it is remembered how frequently the scene of two lions attacking a bull occurs in Phœnician art, and thus all discrepancy vanishes if we admit that the poet had combined two separate scenes from works of art—the one illustrating what he may have been perfectly conversant with, the driving of cattle out to pasture, and the other illustrating what he could not well have known except from hearsay—the attack of lions on a bull.

Again, to convey to our sense of sight the happiness of a town in peace, with its marriages and feasts, in contrast to a different stage in the history of that town when it is at war, an artist is compelled, however much the

force of the contrast may lose by it, to represent apparently two separate towns, while in fact he gives only two views of one. An instance of this, very much to the point, will be found on a Phœnician bowl from Præneste, where the successive stages of a day's hunting are given with the same figures repeated.<sup>1</sup> Had Homer not been influenced by some such work of art, it seems probable that he would have spoken of Hephæstos as representing one and the same city in two contrasted moments of its history, instead of, as he does, two cities. It may be remarked also that in the city at war the two armies are on both sides of the town, as they would most naturally be in a relief, not surrounding it, as would be the case in a real or purely poetic event.

Homer is not making a catalogue, or he might equally well have begun from the outer edge of the shield. He is stating how and by what stages certain scenes were rendered on it so as to form an organic whole, and for this purpose he may naturally be supposed to have begun with the centre or umbo. On it would come earth, sea and sky, the sun, moon and stars. As regards the heavenly bodies, it will always be a question whether the merest indications of them were sufficient, or whether the poet does not distinctly lead us to expect personifications of them from the way in which afterwards in the battle scene he speaks of Eris, Kudoimos and Ker as such. In either case he must be held to have been free to attach, if he chose, to the simplest sign or indication those epithets which contemplation of the original phenomena would suggest. On the umbo of the shield I

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<sup>1</sup> See the article on this vase, with its interpretation, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, p. 247. The first scene is the departure from the castle; second, stalking the deer;

third, killing it; fourth, resting and feeding the horses; fifth, preparing a meal; sixth, attack by a huge ape; seventh, pursuit of the ape; eighth, death of the ape; and ninth, return to the castle.

have placed a design from a bronze bowl of Phœnician workmanship found in Assyria,<sup>1</sup> giving a bird's-eye view of the earth's surface, with mountains, plains, verdure and animal life. Set around the centre are four heads of Egyptian type, strongly suggestive of personifications of deities of the heavens, while the star-shaped arrangement of small knobs might well indicate the firmament. It is true there is no sea, but we are here merely proposing to identify the class of objects from which the poet drew the basis of his conception, not the very objects themselves. By its shape such a bowl is peculiarly well adapted for the umbo of the shield, though it might be objected that by this arrangement we have all the earth on the centre of the shield, while the scenes afterwards described as enacted thereon are placed in effect beyond it. To be completely realistic, no doubt, it would be necessary to give up the distribution of the subjects in concentric bands and to substitute a scheme on the model of this bronze bowl, assigning the separate subjects to the plains left in the spaces round the mountains, where the trees and animals now are. But the bronze bowl, since it also has a band of figures outside the earth, may teach us that a realism perfect in all details is not to be looked for in the circumstances.

In dealing with the other scenes on the shield I have found it convenient to appropriate the two halves of the outer circle for the two cities, for the sake not only of greater space but also of contrast and effect. In the city at peace the walls and interior are indicated by a view from an Assyrian sculpture,<sup>2</sup> as is also the feast.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This bowl is engraved in Layard, ii. pl. 61, and compare ii. pl. 66, with a similar view of the earth. Both are in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The view of the city with

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figures suggestive of the trial scene, from Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, i. pl. 63.

<sup>3</sup> The feast is from Botta, pl. 64-65; Bonomi, p. 191.



The dancers next to the feast are from a very archaic vase in the British Museum, found with objects in bronze and other material of Phœnician workmanship in a tomb at Vulci.<sup>1</sup> But the other scene of music and dance is Egyptian in design.<sup>2</sup> The fortified city at war, with the attacking figures on the left, are from a Phœnician silver bowl found in Cyprus, excepting the two figures of greater proportions next to the walls.<sup>3</sup> They have been introduced from Assyrian sculpture to give an idea of the size of Ares and Pallas Athene on the shield compared with the figures of mortals. To make an assault on the walls is not what occurs in Homer, where the forces rather issue from the town, but for the present no more exact illustration seems to exist. The battle scene on the right is from Assyrian sculpture, and gives a reasonably vivid realization of the horrors of war.<sup>4</sup>

It is undoubtedly strange that at so early a period as that of Homer the town should take precedence of the country. Yet here is the fact that a divine artificer begins his picture of mundane life with a view of two cities, and from them proceeds to rural occupations. Whether, in fact, there existed at all in Greece at that time large towns such as are implied by the poet's description may well be disputed, and on this point the authority of Thucydides<sup>5</sup> cannot be overlooked when he says that in the age of the Trojan war the Greeks lived scattered in villages—a circumstance which he considers not unfavourable to their having equipped

<sup>1</sup> This chorus of dancing figures, suggestive of leading the brides, is engraved in Micali, Mon. Ined. pl. 4, fig. A.

<sup>2</sup> This dance is from Wilkinson's Egyptians, new ed. The 1st fig. from i. p. 490; 2nd and 3rd figs. from i. p. 501; 4th, 5th and 6th figs. from i. p. 440; 7th fig. from

a group in i. p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Engraved in Cesnola, Cyprus, pl. 19. The two figures intended to show the greater size of the two deities are from Layard, i. pl. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Layard, ii. pl. 46.

<sup>5</sup> i. 10, κατὰ κόμας is his expression.

great expeditions, though it was the cause of a discrepancy between the ancient renown of places like Mycenæ and their actual remains. In Assyria there is no question of the great size of cities.

In the rural scenes Homer begins with Spring, as indicated by ploughing, for which I have taken an illustration from an archaic Greek vase found in the Homeric town of Kameiros in Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> and here, as in other instances, one ploughman must stand for the many whom the poet, with his licence of numbers, has introduced. Next comes Summer, with its harvest operations, the busy reapers and the meal prepared apart under a tree. The harvestwork is from an Egyptian design,<sup>2</sup> but the preparation of the ox for the feast is Assyrian.<sup>3</sup> Summer is followed by Autumn, with its vintage, for which a Phœnician model has been taken;<sup>4</sup> it is a subject which occurs on Greek vases also.<sup>5</sup> These three seasons have been assigned to one half of the inner circle of the shield, and naturally to that half on which we have already the city at peace. For between its occupations and those of Spring, Summer and Autumn, there is a harmoniousness of gaiety, activity and rejoicing, while on the other hand there is an appropriateness in placing such scenes as that of the cattle attacked by lions on the side of the shield on which is the city at war. The cattle scene

<sup>1</sup> Published in Salzmann's *Nécropole de Camirus* (plates not numbered). The birds are added from a Phœnician bowl. For other archaic vases, with scenes of ploughing, see Jahn, *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1867, pl. 1. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson: 1st and 2nd figs. from ii. p. 424; 3rd and 4th figs. from ii. p. 419; and 5th fig. from

ii. p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Layard, i. pl. 30. The slaughter of an ox occurs also on the bronze gates from the monument of Shalmaneser II. (B. C. 859-824).

<sup>4</sup> This scene occurs on the bowl from Præneste, engraved *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 33, fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Jahn, *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1867, pls. 2, 3.

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is partly from a Phœnician bowl and partly from Assyrian sculpture;<sup>1</sup> the dogs are Egyptian and the sheep Assyrian.<sup>2</sup> We have found no illustration of the sheepfolds and pens.

As regards the chorus, it has already been said that its position in the poem is that of a jubilant culmination of all the preceding scenes. It stands by itself without any occasion being assigned for its existence, and on this account I have taken to represent it the continuous, self-sufficient, circle of a chorus on a Phœnician bowl from Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> Among other instances of a chorus may be mentioned the one already introduced in the scene of the city at peace from a vase found at Vulci, and another on the François vase at Florence.<sup>4</sup> In both cases it is curious that the chorus, as in the *Iliad*, is distinctly associated with other scenes in the legend of Ariadne and Theseus, and that the dancers appear to be composed of intended victims whom Theseus had saved from the Minotaur.

Round all Hephæstos placed the Okeanos, and for this we have chosen the usual representation of water in Assyrian sculptures in preference to the conventional wave pattern in Greek art, which though of very early origin would not so well realize the might of the ocean of which the poet speaks. The following is a translation of the passage in the *Iliad* (xviii. 478, fol.), where the making of the shield is described:—

First he made a huge strong shield, with ornament

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<sup>1</sup> The cattle before reeds are from Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, 4th ed. i. p. 351; the reeds being taken from i. p. 40. The bull attacked by lions, and the cattle attended by two herdsmen, are from *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 33, fig. 5, except two herdsmen from Layard,

i. pl. 58.

<sup>2</sup> The dogs are from Hoskins' *Travels in Ethiopia*, pl. 46, and the sheep from Layard, i. pl. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.*, iv. pls. 54-58.

all over, and he set round it a triple edge, bright and glittering. It had a handle of silver. The shield itself was five-fold, and with experienced skill he made on it many adornments :—

(1.) On it he formed earth, sky and sea, the unwearied sun, full moon and all the signs with which the sky is crowned, Pleiads, Hyads, the might of Orion and the Bear, which men also call the Wain ; it turns there and watches Orion, nor dips it into the ocean.

(2.) On it he made two fair cities inhabited. In the one were marriages and feasts.

They were leading brides from their homes through the town, with blazing torches, and ever the wedding song arose. Youths wheeled in the dance, while flutes and lyres gave out music. Women standing at their doors looked on pleased.

A crowd of people were in a market-place, and there a dispute arose. Two men were quarrelling about compensation for the death of a man. The one declared he had paid all, referring the matter to the crowd. The other denied he had received anything. Both were ready to abide by the judgment of an umpire. The people, taking sides, encouraged them. The heralds kept the people back.

The elders sat in solemn circle on polished seats of stone, and held in hand the sceptres of the clear-voiced heralds. To them the disputants turned, and both laid down their case. In the middle were two talents of gold to be given to him who best proved his right.

(3.) On both sides of the other city were two armies glittering in arms. They could not agree either to destroy or to share in two all the property of the pleasant town ; the defending army had not yet submitted, but



was preparing a surprise. Their dear wives and tender children were standing on the walls, watching, with the old men.

They marched out, and Ares and Pallas Athene led them, both wrought in gold, with golden dress, beautiful and large in form, both conspicuous, with their armour like deities : the people were smaller.

When they reached the spot where they meant to make the ambush, beside a river where was a watering-place for all cattle, then they sat down, concealed with shining metal. Apart from them were two scouts, watching when they might see sheep and horned oxen.

These soon approached, and two herdsmen came with them playing gaily on the panspipe ; they foresaw no snare. But the others getting sight of them rushed in and soon cut off the herds of oxen and fair flocks of white sheep. They slew the herdsmen.

Then when those who were seated at the assembly perceived a great disturbance among the cattle, they at once set out, taking to their high-stepping horses, and quickly arrived. Stopping by the banks of the river they fought a battle, attacking each other with brazen weapons. There were Strife and Tumult in the throng, and cruel Fate, holding one man newly wounded, another still unhurt, and dragging by the feet a third man, dead, through the crowd. Her dress about her shoulders was stained with human blood. The tumult and fighting was as of real men, and on both sides they were carrying away the slain dead.

(4a.) On it he placed a rich fertile field, broad and thrice tilled. In it were many ploughmen driving across and across, turning their yokes. When after turning they reached again the edge of the field, a man advancing handed them a cup of sweet wine. They kept turning up and down the furrows, eager to reach the

edge of the broad field. The ground became black behind them, and looked as if ploughed, though really it was of gold. The workmanship was a wonder.

(4*b*.) On it he placed a large cornfield. Reapers were reaping, with sharp sickles in their hands. Here grain fell thick to the ground along the furrows; there binders were gathering it in sheaves. Three binders were going on, and boys behind were collecting the grain, and, bearing it in their arms, carried continuously. Among them a king in silence holding his sceptre, stood at the furrow, glad at heart. At a distance, under a tree, heralds were preparing a feast. Having slaughtered a large ox they were busy. The women were sprinkling much white barley as a dinner for the reapers.

(4*c*.) On it he placed a vineyard much laden with fruit, lovely and golden, but the grapes were black. Everywhere the vines were supported on silver poles. On each side he made a dark trench, and all around a fence of tin. There was but one pathway to it, by which the gatherers went when they gathered the vintage. Maidens and youths making merry were carrying the sweet fruit in wicker baskets, and among them a boy, with a clear-toned lyre, played sweetly and sang with skill a lovely song. They accompanied him, keeping time with sound and shout and whirl of feet.

(5*a*.) On it he made a herd of straight-horned oxen. The oxen were fashioned of gold and tin. With lowing they hurried from byre to pasture beside a murmuring river among waving reeds. Four herdsmen of gold went with the cattle, and nine swift dogs followed. Two terrible lions, among the foremost of the oxen

seize a bellowing bull, and he, roaring loudly, was being dragged down. Dogs and youths ran in on the scene. The lions having torn up the hide of the great bull devoured its entrails and black blood, though the herdsmen pressed in, urging on the swift dogs. But they kept back from attacking the lions; gathering very close they barked, yet stopped aloof.

(5*b*.) On it far-famed Hephæstos made a large pasture for white-fleeced sheep, in a lovely glen, folds, roofed-in sheds and pens.

(6.) On it far-famed Hephæstos wrought a chorus like that which once in wide Knossos Dædalos produced for fair-haired Ariadne. There youths and rich maidens danced, holding each other by the wrist. The maidens wore thin dresses, but the youths had well-woven chitons glistening as with oil. The maidens had lovely wreaths, but the youths had golden swords, with belts of silver. Now they wheeled with practised step in perfect ease, as when a potter, sitting with wheel in hand, tries if it will run. Now again they turned to each other in lines. A large crowd stood round the happy dance, delighted. Among them two tumblers whirled in the midst, beginning the song.

(7.) On it he placed the great might of the river Ocean, beside the outer edge of the thick-made shield.

The idea of a shield picturesquely adorned with scenes of human interest, whether it originated with Homer or was not rather only developed to its highest by him, was certainly an idea which after his time stirred the emulation of more than one poet. There is the shield of Herakles, ascribed wrongly, no doubt, to Hesiod, and there is Virgil's shield of Æneas. Both

are the work of the God Hephæstos, or his Roman counterpart, Vulcan. But though it might be possible to make a harmonious composition out of the description of the shield of Herakles,<sup>1</sup> there is yet a distinct absence from it of a leading idea, such as that which gives complete unity to the Homeric shield. With Virgil,<sup>2</sup> on the contrary, the poetic thought which binds the whole in a manner worthy of the divine artist, is the thought that every scene on the shield is a prophetic conception of incidents that were afterwards to be of the highest importance in Roman history, of course only down to the poet's own time. He begins with the she-wolf nursing the twins, Romulus and Remus, in a cave, and of his lines at this point it is not too much to say, that a more accurate description could not be given of the typical artistic representation of this subject which abounds in Roman remains,<sup>3</sup> though no doubt there is a certain degree of poetic freedom in the phrase "*Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ,*" since that would convey a progressive action which would be beyond the limits of substantive art. In the figure of the Nile he seems clearly to describe, if not the statue as it now exists, a work of art of some sort, and again, when at the battle of Actium Augustus is described (v. 680), *stans celsâ in puppi*, the words correspond with the design of a Victory standing on the prow of a ship. For an illustration of the operations of war so conspicuous on the shield, or of the long line of captives who attended the triumph of Augustus (v. 722—728), reference may be made to the varied and extensive

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 139—320.

<sup>2</sup> *Æneid*, viii. 625—728.

<sup>3</sup> This subject of the she-wolf and twins occurs on the cuirass of a Roman emperor on a marble

statue in the British Museum; but the usual representation shows the wolf and twins within a cave, as in the reliefs on the Ara Casali.



reliefs on the arches of Titus and Constantine, and on the Column of Trajan, which though of a later date, yet are admitted to present a true picture both of the method and of the subjects of artistic representation in earlier times.<sup>1</sup> Thus, though it may not be possible to adduce an artistic equivalent for every scene of the poet, it will be justifiable to conclude from what has already been said, that Virgil had throughout obtained very definite suggestions from actual works of art.

Deficient as it is in a leading poetic thought, the description of the shield of Herakles now existing under the name of Hesiod, still shows that its author, though largely a slavish copyist of Homer, was capable of introducing new scenes, and in distributing them had for some reason adopted the process of strong contrasts observable on the shield of Achilles. With him, however, the order is partly inverted, peace following war, not war peace. Rural operations, which in Homer are picturesquely described, are here dismissed in language which, from its brevity, would hardly have any meaning unless through the comparison which it recalls with the Homeric shield. They are introduced apparently as accessories to the city at peace and to counterbalance the battle scenes which attend the city at war, rather than as independent views of mundane affairs. The accompanying diagram, in which the form of shield proposed for that of Achilles has been preserved, gives a distribution of the subjects in which the two halves contrast very distinctly, the one presenting an aspect of war throughout, the other peace. In the mind of the

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<sup>1</sup> The habit of representing contemporary historical events, especially victories and triumphal processions, as now seen chiefly in works of art of the time of the Empire, existed also in the earlier

republican period; but at that time the representations appear to have been of a more temporary nature, consisting at times of pictorial displays. See Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, pp. 45-49.

poet there was a clear intention of conveying a response of this kind, though, no doubt, his idea of arrangement may have been very different. It will be seen also that the form of the shield here as in that of Achilles affords an opportunity of separating those contrasted

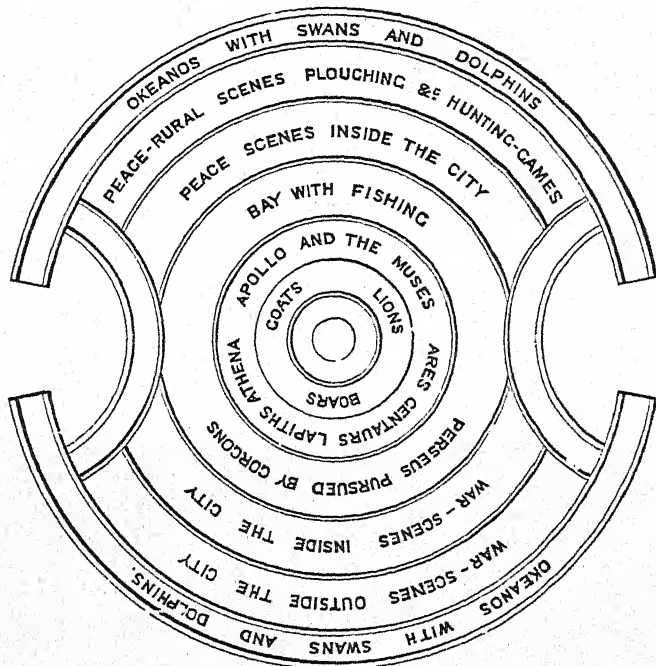


Fig. 2.—Shield of Herakles.

scenes which could not be obtained in the circular shield hitherto adopted.

To an early age, if not actually to that of Homer, belong the two lions which stand heraldically above the gateway into the Acropolis of Mycenæ, sculptured on stone in the low flat relief characteristic of the system of decoration evolved from working in bronze. The attitude is no other than that with which we are familiar in the art of Assyria, whence it would seem the early Greeks had drawn their artistic knowledge

of this animal in general. The manner of grouping the two lions is such as would readily suggest itself in Assyria, where engraved seals were in perpetual use. A seal on which a lion was engraved, if placed side by side with an impression from it in clay, would produce just such a group. The natural guardian for a city gate was one lion, not two. The mere notion of two lions standing thus confronted, is ridiculous, unless we bear in mind the origin of the design. There

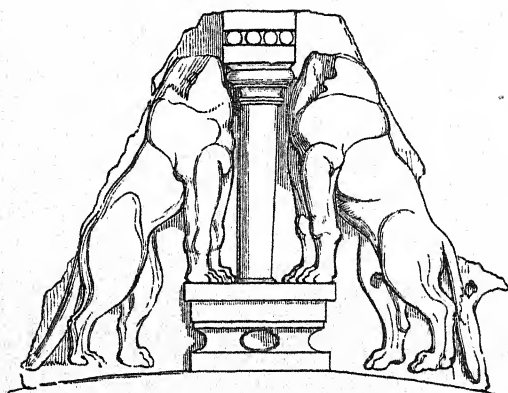


Fig. 3.—Lions in relief above gateway at Mycenæ.

is another view of the origin of this and similar groups which is also worth considering. On very early Greek vases we sometimes find painted a lion with one head and two bodies apparently. The painter drew first the head of the lion to the front, and then having no knowledge of perspective, he drew both sides of the lion stretching away on each side of the head, as a child might still do. Exactly the same thing occurs on an engraved gem found at Mycenæ.<sup>1</sup> When this manner of drawing came to be despised, the next advance was to put in two heads and make two lions, or rather two sides of one and the same lion. On engraved

<sup>1</sup> Ephemer. Arch. 1888, pl. 10, fig. 2.





grey-green colour, such as has been found at Orchomenos, and possibly Lord Elgin had got the relief from there or from Mycenæ.

In connection with the massive remains at Mycenæ



Fig. 5.—Lion devouring a bull, in ivory. From tomb at Spata, in Attica.

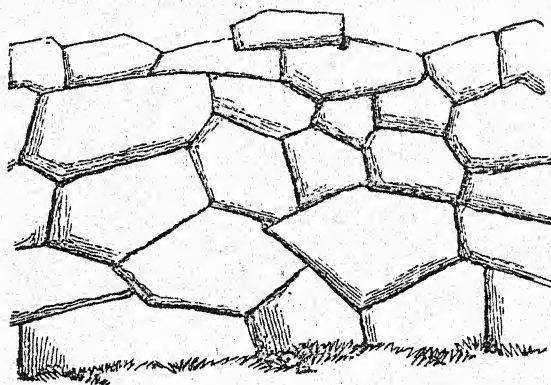


Fig. 6.—Cyclopean Wall of Mycenæ.

and Tiryns it is noticeable that the oldest records of skill appear to be those which speak of building and construction in stone, such as commanded admiration.

With works of this kind are associated the names of Trophonios and Agamedes, who together built the temple of Apollo at Delphi and of Poseidon at Man-

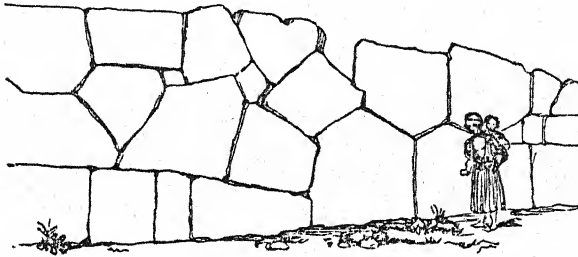


Fig. 7.—Cyclopean Wall of Cadyanda, in Lycia.

tinea, the Treasuries of Hyrieus at Delphi, and of Augeias at Elis, and the Thalamos of Alkmene in Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless these are legendary names, yet

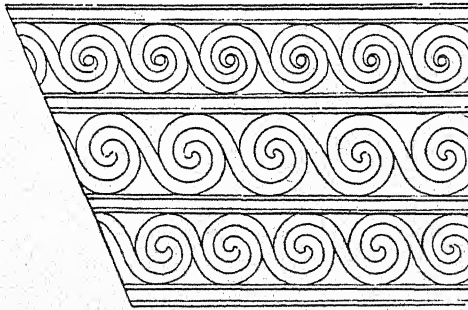


Fig. 8.—Spiral Ornament on stone, from the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ.

they represent a purely Greek activity in this direction when compared, for example, with the Cyclopes,<sup>2</sup> who though working in Greece, at Mycenæ, and Tiryns, had brought with them their skill of masonry from

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 57–66.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 1–24.

Lycia, according to the general belief. Of these two cities the walls still remain in parts to attest the pro-

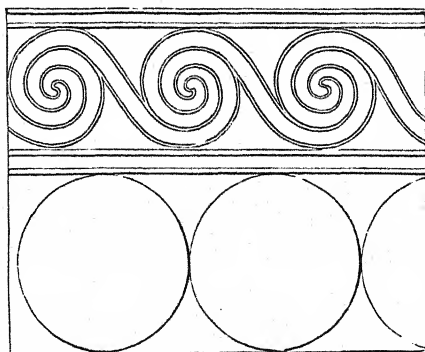


Fig. 9.—Ornament in stone, from the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ.

ficiency of the workmen, whose names have been lost under the legendary appellation of Cyclopes. An

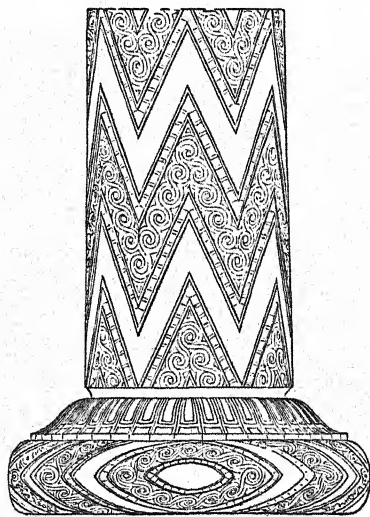


Fig. 10.—Restored design of pilaster from the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ.

even more interesting witness is the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ (Figs. 8-10), which, though not traced to them, obviously represents a stage, per-

haps the most advanced stage, of that early activity in construction. How far the principles applied in it had been obtained from Egypt cannot well be determined. But that Egypt also was essentially a country of stone construction, that it had practised the system of vaulting observed in the Treasury at

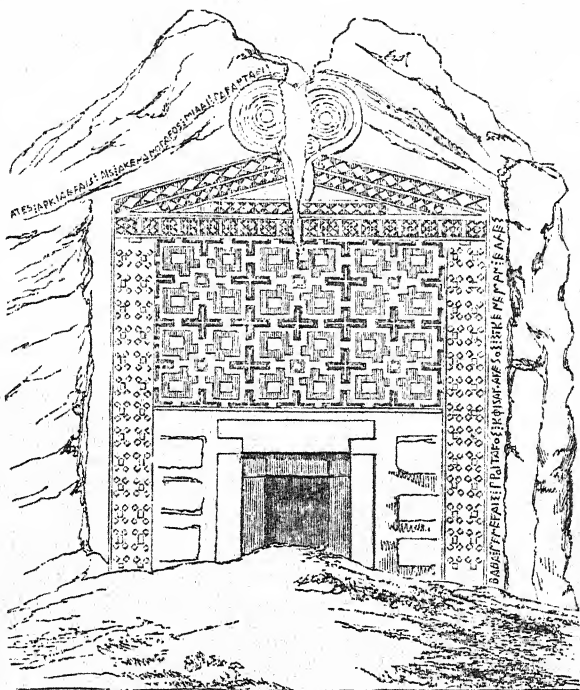


Fig. 11.—Tomb of Midas at Dogan-Lu, in Phrygia.

Mycenæ, that its civilization, so far as records go, was much older than that of Greece, and that means of communication existed, are facts which deserve to be well weighed, even if they do not decide the question. It should be added that though usually remembered only as builders, the Cyclopes were also sculptors, if the testimony of Pausanias is to be accepted, when he



assigns to them the lions at Mycenæ,<sup>1</sup> and a head of Medusa at Argos.<sup>2</sup>

Undertakings like these could not have been thought of without such a previous advancement in the working of metals as would have led to the production of tools necessary for the chiselling of hard materials, and accordingly, in the oldest traditions, the legendary Daktyls and Telchines<sup>3</sup> are found to be representatives of this department of skill. Here, however, the activity is all outside of Greece proper—in Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus, with which islands were associated the Telchines, and in Phrygia, in which the Daktyls are placed, except in some instances where the constant epithet of “Idæan” has led to their being connected with Mount Ida in Crete, instead of with the hill of that name in the Troad. To both races the same skill is attributed, and where tradition condescends to particulars it bestows on them the familiar names of Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon, and assigns these names to the Telchines as well as to the Idæan Daktyls, whence it is inferred that both were but locally different representatives of the same contemporary talent for working in metals which had existed amid the mineral wealth of the islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus on the one hand, and of Phrygia and the north on the other.

From construction in stone, with more or less of ornament, either executed upon it or by means of bronze plating, the first transition to sculpture proper with which a definite personality is connected, is that as-

<sup>1</sup> ii. 16. 5.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 20. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.*, nos. 27-55. To this class of beings may be added the Heliadæ of

Rhodes, whom Athena taught every skill of handwork, according to Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 93; cf. Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.* no. 56.

cribed to Dædalos,<sup>1</sup> who while known as the constructor of the Labyrinth in Crete was renowned for the improvements he had introduced in rendering figures life-like. The comparisons made between him and his predecessors<sup>2</sup> show that he could not have received much instruction from them. It is to them probably that we should ascribe the figure of Niobe hewn in the rock on Mount Sipylus, of which Homer speaks (*Iliad*, xxiv. 613), and of which Pausanias (i. 21. 5) says, what is still true, that seen from a distance it looks like a woman weeping, but near at hand is only a rough-looking stone. They had not got beyond figures having the legs close together, the arms pressed firmly to the sides, and the eyes without the light of life. In all these respects Dædalos had worked changes, and that at a very early period, as the reference to him in the *Iliad* (xviii. 590) implies. Even then the artistic effect must have been small, or the sculptors of Plato's<sup>3</sup> time would not have regarded it as laughable compared with the work of their day. They could speak so, because the days had long passed when a feeling of sanctity attached to the wooden images of Dædalos. It was figures of deities (xoana) that he made chiefly, and for them wood appears to have been the favourite material. Indeed his name, as now generally interpreted, means the "wood carver," and from this circumstance he is regarded, not as a distinct person, but as the typical sculptor to whom from the absence of definite records all works of a particular class were traced back. Pausanias,<sup>4</sup> however, distinguishes between the sculptures so classed, and others known to him as actually the

*This word seems to be an interpolation.*

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.*, nos. 74-142.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.* nos. 67-73.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Hipp. Maj.*, p. 282; Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.*, no. 139. and *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed., p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> ix. 40, 2 fol.

work of Dædalos. Of these he gives a short list, including among them the Chorus of Ariadne mentioned by Homer, which still existed at Knossos in Crete, in the shape of a relief in white marble, but probably, as would now be judged, only in the form of a copy from the original, the material of which is likely to have been either wood or bronze, not stone. To these materials correspond the tools said to have been invented by him, the saw, axe and drill, and certain substances employed as solder. Besides Dædalos, we have mention of Peirasos, the sculptor of a very ancient image of Hera in Argos,<sup>1</sup> where also was a figure of Aphrodite by Epeios, to whose skill was due the famous wooden horse of Troy.<sup>2</sup> In many other cases the artists' names had been forgotten or eclipsed under the greater fame of those legendary heroes, such as Agamemnon, Odysseus, Diomedes, Kadmos, Pelops or Kekrops, to whom tradition ascribed the erection of this or that sculpture venerated for its high antiquity. There was an end to enquiry when it was said, as in the instance of a bronze figure of Athena<sup>3</sup> at Amphissa, that it had been brought back among the spoils from Troy.

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<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schrift.*, nos. ii. 19. 6.  
143-6.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, x. 38. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyss.* viii. 492; Pausanias,

## CHAPTER IV.

BUTADES, THEODOROS, RHÆKOS AND GLAUKOS.

Chest of Kypselos—Modelling in clay—Earliest Corinthian workers in clay—Casting in bronze—Theodoros and Rhækos of Samos—Relations of Theodoros with Egypt—Soldering iron—Glaukos of Chios.

THE Chest of Kypselos, known now only through the description of it in Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> has been accepted as illustrating to some degree the artistic features of the shield of Achilles or of Herakles, and as proving, from its relation to subsequent works of the historical period, a continuity of that method of arrangement and design which appears to have been introduced among the Greeks from Assyria in the first instance. It has already been observed that the subjects represented on it indicate a remarkable change, inasmuch as the nameless persons of the Homeric designs are replaced by definite heroes and events with which were associated the current legends of the day. It might be imagined that such a change in the direction of a definite conception of persons and incidents would imply an advance in artistic conception and design

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<sup>1</sup> v. 17. 5. Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 21, discusses the ornamentation of the Chest of Kypselos, pointing out how certain of the subjects are the same as occurred on the shield of Herakles, and arguing generally that its system of decoration was a survival from

earlier times approaching at least those of Homer. See also Overbeck, *Geschichte d. Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed., p. 63, where an arrangement of the subjects will be found which we have in the main followed.



also. But to silence a conjecture of this kind it is only necessary to look at many of the representations on the early vases to see that without the names of the heroes, usually added, there would be little or no means of identification. Similarly with regard to the Chest of Kypselos, the benefit that had been derived from the names of the persons being inscribed beside them can be readily appreciated. But besides its importance in the early history of art, this richly decorated box played a curious part in the records of the ruling house of Corinth. It had belonged to the mother of Kypselos, and in his infancy had served to conceal and preserve him from those<sup>1</sup> to whom his existence was obnoxious. Afterwards, on becoming ruler of Corinth, he attested his gratitude by dedicating the chest in the ancient temple of the goddess Hera at Olympia, where centuries later Pausanias saw and described it in detail. In round numbers its date may be assigned to B.C. 700. As evidence of the artistic progress of Corinth at this age, the costliness of the material and the variety of the designs speak highly, and yet it is impossible to forget that the person whose life was thus saved is better known to tradition<sup>2</sup> as a persecutor of artists than as anything else. As to the actual degree of skill attained in the execution of the figures there is no evidence, unless it may be allowed to draw an unfavourable conclusion from the want of connection or association among the individual groups as they are given by Pausanias, who expressly indicates their order and sequence.

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<sup>1</sup> The family of the Bacchiadae, who claimed the succession.

<sup>2</sup> It was by him, as tradition asserts, that the artists Eucheir,

Diopos, and Euprammos were expelled from Corinth, after which they settled in Etruria.

This wonderful chest was made of cedar, and ornamented with figures partly of ivory, partly of gold, and partly carved on the cedar itself. Probably it was oblong in shape, but whether the decorations went all round it or were confined to three sides, or even to one, is next to impossible to determine. They were arranged in five parallel bands, and it would seem from the subjects on the first or lowermost of the bands with which the description curiously begins, that they would best admit of being disposed on a long front and two short ends, though by no means excluding the possibility of their forming one extended composition along the front only. That they may have been spread over four sides is barely conceivable. For the order of the figures, however, within each separate band a clue is given by Pausanias when speaking of the inscriptions, consisting in several cases of explanatory hexameter verses, ascribed by him to a Corinthian poet, Eumelos. These inscriptions, he says, were written in the archaic manner, called by the Greeks *boustrophedon*, that is, he adds, like a foot-race which turns at the end of the course and goes back to the starting-place. If his words are limited to the instances where two verses occur, they would mean that one verse was written from right to left, and the other from left to right; and in accordance with the more usual archaic manner, the first verse would run from right to left. But there is no reason for this limitation. On the contrary, the mere fact of his stating expressly that his descriptions of the second and fourth bands begin on the left, while of the others nothing is said, would suggest that for the latter he began on the right, and did so, no doubt, for convenience in following the order of the written names.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. Klein, in his *Kypsele der Kypseliden*, p. 22, takes some credit for having observed this explanation of Pausanias, which was pointed out in our first edition precisely as here.

Whether the movement of the incidents in the first band is from right to left, or the reverse, Pausanias follows it, as may be seen from the fact that in the race of the bigæ, and again in the foot-race, the winner, that is the foremost, is the last mentioned in the list of competitors. He would thus have copied down their names as his eye followed them. On the theory of the movement being from right to left, he would naturally, after completing the first band, enter upon the second band from the left. On the other hand, it must be admitted, that as there is no movement along either the second or fourth bands, he would have been under the necessity of stating from which side he began, while in the others the continuous order of incidents itself determines the course of the description, and may thus have excused him from indicating it. On the whole, however, and especially if we adopt the theory of a three-sided decoration, it seems preferable to believe that the account of the first band ended on the left where that of the second is said to begin, and that a similar *boustrophedon* order obtained in regard to the other bands (as in the accompanying Table), except in the middle one, where a double arrangement would be the most suitable. It should be added that the first, third and fifth bands have been made broader than the others on account of the chariot groups in them, and because such an arrangement would otherwise be defensible on the ground of taste in decoration.

Pliny,<sup>1</sup> looking back on an early age of art, when in Etruria and in Rome the statues of deities were chiefly made of clay, observes with an air of humility, that there was no cause to be ashamed of people who worshipped such gods. In defence of clay, he affirms that the art of modelling in it was older than that of founding

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<sup>1</sup> xxxv. 157.

in bronze ; that it had been invented, as some said, by Theodoros and Rhœkos of Samos long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth ; that from Corinth it had been introduced into Etruria, whence it spread to other districts of Italy ; and that in Athens the Kerameikos had been so named from its productions of this class. So far he is speaking only of works made and finished in clay. Of models in the strict sense (*proplasmata*), he then cites those of Arkesilaos, which were regarded by artists as more valuable than the completed works of others, while Pasiteles, the greatest sculptor of his day, was reported to have called modelling (*plasticè*) the mother of sculpture, and to have never executed any work without first making a model of it. At the best this may be said to be but slight evidence of the practice of ancient sculptors, since the examples quoted refer to late times. On the other hand, no evidence is needed for the earlier artists. They speak for themselves in this way, that bronze casting was simply impossible without a model of the figure to cast from, and yet this art of bronze casting was introduced or invented as early as the 7th century B.C. Then as regards sculpture in marble, the figures of the Parthenon require the aid of no ancient commentator to tell that the freedom of hand which they display is a faithful reproduction of the implicit yielding of clay to a great master's will. Nor can it be supposed that this was the first instance of the kind when it is remembered how completely this plastic element had become a distinguishing feature of Greek sculpture. While thus conspicuous by inference in the highest productions of sculpture, the facility of working in clay as it existed in the lower ranges of art is attested still by a vast number of terra-cotta figures, reliefs and vases ; so that on a general view of the remains of Greek art compared with those of Egypt and Assyria, it will be felt that while in



these countries clay, whether terra-cotta or porcelain, is used more as a cheap material, the Greeks, in the first instance, employed it rather as the most rapid means of fixing their conceptions. Probably it was this broad contrast—the profusion of work in terra-cotta and the influence of clay models in Greece, compared with the absence of such influence and the scarcity of such works in other ancient nations—which justified the tradition that the art of modelling in clay had been invented by the Greeks.

The daughter of a potter in Corinth, wishing to retain the features of her lover as they appeared in the shadow cast by a lamp light, drew the outline of them on the wall. Her father Butades, entering into the spirit of the scheme, filled in the picture with clay, removed and baked it with the other productions of his craft. Till Mummius sacked Corinth this portrait was preserved in the Nymphæum of that town, and with it was associated this story<sup>1</sup> of the first invention of plastic art. From Corinth the exiled artists Eucheir, Diopos, and Eugrammos carried the art to Etruria, where it took root and flourished. It may or may not be that these traditions are strictly accurate, but that they are founded on fact may be judged from the reputation of Corinth and of Etruria as among the earliest centres of successful working in clay. Obviously the daughter of Butades would not have found a brush ready to hand for her picture had it not been the practice to combine painting with modelling, and in truth this combination is very evident in the oldest works of clay, whether vases, reliefs, or figures.<sup>2</sup> Greatly celebrated for this union of

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxv. 151.

<sup>2</sup> As an example of this manner of working in Etruria may be cited (1) the terra-cotta sarcophagus from

Cære in the Louvre (Longpérier, Musée Napoleon III., pl. 80), and (2) the great terra-cotta sarcophagus from the same locality in

skill were Damophilos and Gorgasos, who jointly decorated the temple of Ceres in Rome.<sup>1</sup> This was in B.C. 493, that is to say, nearly two centuries after the exile of the artists from Corinth, B.C. 665. Butades would be even earlier, though it would seem that he was associated with this event in the mind of Pliny, in whose argument the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ is a general equivalent for the date of the invention of the Corinthian potter. The other claimants, as has been said, were Theodoros and Rhœkos of Samos, and in regard to them there is this distinction in the facts, that they being chiefly workers in bronze may well have introduced the habit of making preliminary models in clay, while the figures modelled by Butades were, on the other hand, final as to form, and when enriched by colour, complete works of art. It is true, as has been pointed out,<sup>2</sup> that Corinth also was an early centre of sculpture in bronze, but then it by no means necessarily follows that Butades stood in relation to this branch of art in that city as the inventor of modelling in clay. As to Theodoros and Rhœkos this is one point which is clear, and if the advantage then arising to the art of sculpture was not rapid and great, the fault must be looked for elsewhere than in the new method. Previously figures of bronze appear to have been made first in wood and then plated over with metal, like the image at Thebes,<sup>3</sup> which having fallen from heaven when Semele was struck with the divine bolt, was afterwards enriched with bronze, and in this way it is conceivable

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the British Museum (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. viii. pl. 8; Dennis, *Etruria*, 2nd ed. i. p. 227; Newton, *Photographs of the Castellani Collection*, pls. 18-20).

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxv. 154. Previous to this, adds Pliny, on the authority

of Varro, all statues in Rome were of Etruscan origin, and doubtless modelled in clay.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, *Geschichte der Griech. Künstler*, i. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, ix. 12. 4.

that the old ξύλοι διοπετεῖς were gradually changed into statues of bronze, till the introduction of casting freed the hands of the artist for ever. The records of what immediately followed may be scarce, but this scarcity of records, when contrasted with the perfection which the art had attained by the 6th century B.C., must be regarded rather as a failure of history than as a sign that little had been done.

That a process so elementary as casting had till then escaped a bronze-working race like the Greeks is highly improbable. The difficulty was to employ it for statuary; and it appears to have been in having overcome this difficulty that the fame of Theodoros and Rhækos consisted. It is said<sup>1</sup> that Theodoros had visited Egypt, and had there learned certain artistic rules for the construction of a statue, which, on returning to Ephesus, he put in practice jointly with Telekles, who worked at Samos, the one producing one half of a statue divided vertically, the other, the other half. The two halves were found to fit perfectly. This was a statue of Apollo for the people of Samos, and possibly the result did not greatly differ in aspect from the marble Apollo from Greece, now in the British Museum (see pl. 6). This statue may not be so early as the time of Theodoros. But it obviously retains certain of those archaic features which were characterised as "Egyptian" by some ancient writers, and in modern times have produced a strong impression that the beginning of Greek art on a high scale had been largely influenced by what was seen in Egypt when communications with that country were easy and many. Such a feature, for example, is the extreme sparseness of the body, and it can scarcely be doubted that this aspect of it would to the majority of spectators entirely control the first impression. A

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<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus, i. 98.

closer examination will at once show that the markings of the anatomy and the type of face are distinctly not of an Egyptian character in any sense. Nor is it likely that the statue of Theodoros approached the Egyptian type more closely than to produce a similar first impression. At the same time he may have gained much from Egypt. To have been shown for the first time the mere possibility of making a statue in bronze, not to speak of seeing the actual process, would have given a powerful impulse to an artistic temperament. Had he been trained from boyhood in an Egyptian studio, he would probably have introduced into Greece an Egyptian style in the proportions, attitude, and type, of his figures. But on these points it is to be supposed that his manner was confirmed before going to the land of the Nile, if, indeed, the story of his visit was not the fabrication of Egyptian priests.<sup>1</sup> On the theory of its being true, the visit would probably have occurred during the reign of Amasis, who not only encouraged

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<sup>1</sup> For an examination of the differences in principle between the sculptures of Egypt and of Greece see Brunn, in the *Rhein. Museum*, x. (1856) p. 153, and Overbeck (*Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 17), who similarly distinguishes between Egyptian sculpture as essentially architectonic, and Greek sculpture as essentially naturalistic.

He shows also in detail how the passages of Pausanias (i. 42, 5, and vii. 5. 5) need not convey any more than a first general impression. The chief authority for the theory of an Egyptian origin of Greek art is Thiersch in his *Epochen der Kunst bei den Griechen*.

Such materials as ivory and ebony had probably been imported

mainly from Egypt, and sometimes no doubt already in what may be called a manufactured state. Yet from this point of view it is curious that Pausanias (i. 42, 5), though believing the absurd story told him by a casual acquaintance from Cyprus about the finding of ebony, mentions a figure of that material at Megara, which he expressly says was of the Æginetan style, in contrast to two other images in the same place, which were much in the Egyptian style. The ebony coming from Egypt, and being in its colour consonant with that of the majority of Egyptian statues, would surely have elicited any real Egyptian influence had it existed.



intercourse with Greece generally, but was himself specially befriended by Polykrates, the ruler of Samos, and the patron of Theodoros—he who on the advice of Amasis to take, if he wished to be happy, the thing he most prized and cast it into the sea, chose for that purpose an engraved gem made by Theodoros, sailed to the open sea and threw it in; but in vain, as the Fates would have it, for the gem was again found inside a fish and taken back to him.<sup>1</sup> What the form of this gem may have been is not said, but it is instructive to observe that Theodoros in the bronze statue which he made of himself<sup>2</sup> was represented holding in one hand a scarab—that is, a gem in the form of a beetle—engraved with the design of a quadriga, for such seems to be unquestionably the sense of the passage in Pliny; and it is within the range of probability, first, that the gem thus represented was no other than the famous seal which he had made, and secondly, that the scarab itself had been a present from Amasis included with those statues of wood and the linen cuirass described by Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> in which case the choice of it, as the thing Polykrates valued most, would be a delicate compliment to the Egyptian king.

An ancient writer of authority begins with the Samian sculptor a list of twenty distinguished men who had borne the name of Theodoros, and the fact that no one of the other nineteen is connected with art, might be taken as proof that he was alone of the name, and

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iii 41.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 83. Theodoros qui Labyrinthum fecit, Sami ipse se ex aere fudit, præter similitudinem mirabilem fama magnæ subtilitatis celebratus. Dextra limam tenet, læva tribus digitis quadrigulam tenuit, translata Præneste, tantæ parvitat, ut totam eam currumque

et aurigam integeret alis simul facta musca. The first to see the real meaning of this passage was Benndorf, Zeitschrift für Oesterreich. Gymnasien, 1873, p. 401–411. Cf. Klein, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, 1885, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 182.

supreme. But it has been argued that there were two of them, the one preceding the other by about forty years, and standing 'in the relationship of uncle and nephew.'<sup>1</sup> The grounds are that the works ascribed to Theodoros cover a period of time much too great for the artistic life of one man, and that they fall into two classes, as if corresponding with the separate gifts of two artists. As to the latter objection, versatility of skill is not expressly claimed for Theodoros, but when one and the same writer<sup>2</sup> ascribes to him the invention of bronze casting, sculpture in bronze, and the construction of a building in Sparta (the Skias), it is evident that the writer in question saw no obstacle in this diversity of pursuit. Herodotus<sup>3</sup> sees nothing incompatible between an enormous silver vase, and an emerald seal as the work of one man Theodoros. Or again, a third writer,<sup>4</sup> who positively reckons only one artist of the name, describes him as having by an ingenious device laid the foundations of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Altogether, the fame of Theodoros rests on the following works :—

(1.) The introduction of sculptured statues cast in bronze, as to which it is argued that he must have done this previous to B.C. 630, since at that date, or immediately after, the Samians are reported<sup>5</sup> to have placed in their temple of Hera a large bronze vase ornamented with Gryphons' heads, and supported by three colossal

<sup>1</sup> Ulrichs, Rhein. Mus. x. (1856) pp. 1-29, to whom Brunn replies fully in 1868 in his *Kunst bei Homer* in the *Abhandlungen d. k. Bayer. Akademie*, xi. pt. 3. But in the following year (1869) Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 69, adheres to the belief that there were two or more artists of

the name of Theodoros, whose separate achievements have been confounded together in the ancient writers.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, viii. 14. 8; ix. 41. 1; iii. 12. 10.

<sup>3</sup> i. 51, and iii. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laert., ii. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, iv. 152.

figures in the attitude of kneeling. It does not follow, but it is extremely probable, that these figures were cast, and that therefore the invention had been completed some time before. Consistent with this view is the statement<sup>1</sup> that Rhœkos, who was associated with him in the matter, had been also the first architect of the temple of Hera where the vase just mentioned was placed. Thus both the temple and the invention of casting figures may have been, it is contended, accomplished facts before B.C. 630. With reference to the bronze vase just mentioned, it might be pointed out that the three kneeling figures which supported it remind us forcibly of a familiar attitude in Egyptian sculpture. These figures were each  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, but though figures of this dimension may fairly have been called "colossi," as Herodotus calls them, it may be doubted whether in this instance he did not rather mean to indicate by this term a type of figure which in Egypt very frequently attained truly a colossal height. The term is alien to classic Greek.

(2.) The laying of the foundations of the temple of Artemis, in the neighbouring town of Ephesus, was the work of Theodoros. But when Kræsos besieged that city in B.C. 560, the columns of the temple at least had been raised, if, indeed, the building was not further advanced, since as early as B.C. 578-534, Servius Tullius is found copying it in the temple which he raised to Diana on the Aventine in Rome. From this date backward, allowing a reasonable time for the erection of so great a building, we again arrive at about the date previously obtained, B.C. 630.

(3-4). As already mentioned, Theodoros made the seal of Polykrates and a great silver vase for Kræsos. Now between the date of Polykrates (B.C. 560-522),

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<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iii. 60.

or his contemporary Kræsos, and the date previously obtained (B.C. 630), there is plainly an interval too long for the activity of one artist. On the other hand it is always possible, if not very likely, that the seal was made some time before Polykrates was a ruler, and similarly that the silver vase had not been expressly produced for Kræsos, but had been obtained by him as an object of notoriety. But perhaps it would be better to assume that Rhækos and Theodoros, though associated together as the inventors of bronze casting, were not strictly contemporaries, but stood in the relation of father and son, as by two ancient writers<sup>1</sup> they are said to be, the one perfecting the invention of the other. The more trustworthy authorities, Herodotus and Pausanias, call Theodoros a son of Telekles; but failing the consanguinity, he may still have been in the position of a young pupil to an old artist.

(5.) The Skias<sup>2</sup> at Sparta built by Theodoros was used as a place for public assemblies, and since the word "skias," like "tholos," meant a dome-shaped structure, resembling the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, it may be supposed that this building at Sparta represented the last development of this principle of construction before it was superseded throughout Greece by the architecture familiar to us from the ruins of temples. Adjoining it was another circular building, said to have been erected by Epimenides. Beside the Skias also was the tomb of the legendary heroes, Idas and Lynkeus. (6.) The bronze statue of himself made by Theodoros, holding a seal in his hand, has already been noticed. (7.) Among his works are men-

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laert., ii. 103, and Diodorus Sicul. i. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, iii. 12, 20; Bötticher, Tektonik der Hellenen, ii.

p. 19. Harpocration, s. v. *θόλος*, gives *σκιὰς* as an equivalent of *θόλος*, adding that they were round buildings with vaulted roofs.



tioned also a vase and palm-tree of gold, with clusters of grapes formed of precious stones, which had belonged to a certain Pythios, and had been presented by him to Darius, the father of Xerxes.<sup>1</sup> (8.) Jointly with Telekles, as already stated, Theodoros, while at Ephesus, and possibly while engaged on the foundations of the temple, made a figure of Apollo according to the Egyptian canon. (9.) Jointly with Rhœkos and Smilis he is said to have made a labyrinth at Lemnos, but the description<sup>2</sup> of this work appears to be justly regarded as too fanciful to be accepted as proving anything. (10.) It has been already stated on the authority of a report cited by Pliny that Theodoros and Rhœkos had invented modelling in clay many years before the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth about B.C. 660. It has been argued that in this instance Pliny must have mistaken modelling in clay for casting in bronze. But this in itself is hardly likely, considering that he introduces the statement, not casually, but when expressly speaking of the invention of modelling in clay. To these instances of the work of Theodoros of Samos must be added a statue on the Acropolis of Athens, of which the base with its inscription has been found,<sup>3</sup> the character of the writing being held to belong to the time when Pisistratos governed Athens.

Rhœkos, besides being the architect of the temple of Hera at Samos, had made also a bronze statue

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, vii. 27; cf. Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 286-291.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 90, says "Lemnos," but previously, xxxiv. 83, he had given "Samos" with a more particular reference to Theodoros. W. Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mitthei-*

*lungen aus Oesterreich*, ix. p. 184, thinks it possible that what Pliny referred to was the old Heræon at Samos, of which Herodotus (iii. 60), says the first architect was Rhœkos.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. A., iv. 2, no. 373<sup>2</sup>.

which was to be seen at Ephesus, and was called by the Ephesians a figure of "Night." Pausanias<sup>1</sup> speaks of it as more ancient and ruder than the bronze statue of Athena at Amphissa, which some, overlooking the fact of bronze casting having been invented by Rhœkos and Theodoros,<sup>2</sup> said had been brought among the spoils from Troy. Rudeness in the art of Rhœkos cannot, however, be well used as an argument for his being the earlier of the two, since Herodotus seems to have believed that the silver vase at Delphi was, as he had been told, the work of Theodoros, chiefly because of its want of excellence.

Another name famous in this early age to the degree of being a synonym for a certain kind of skill is that of Glaukos of Chios,<sup>3</sup> who invented the process of soldering iron (*σιδήρου κόλλησις*); for such appears to be the meaning of the phrase. Some will have it to be "welding," even though the word *κόλλα* is not known to have ever lost its original signification of a solder consisting of a base metal or alloy of base metals, such as will melt under a heat too low to affect seriously the pieces of metal which it is intended to unite. An Athenian inscription<sup>4</sup> recording the making of certain large silver hydriæ out of the metal melted down from vessels dedicated by freed persons, gives the exact weight of the silver handed over for each hydria, and at the same time the amount of the *kolla* or solder allowed for each, which in the case of a vessel weighing 1,500 drachmæ

<sup>1</sup> x. 38. 6.

<sup>2</sup> i. 51. *φασὶ δὲ μὲν Δεῖλοι Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχεῖν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι.*

<sup>3</sup> In four cases he is called a native of Samos, probably from the association of early metal-working

in the island. These four passages occur in Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 265-268. But the better authorities, Herodotus and Pausanias, call him a Chian.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Köhler in the *Mittheilungen d. Institut. in Athen*, iii. p. 174.

is from 3 to 4 drachmæ. Of all the presents sent by the kings of Lydia to the shrine of Delphi, says Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> nothing remained in his time but the iron stand of the vase presented by Alyattes. It was the work of Glaukos of Chios, the man who invented the soldering of iron. Each bar of the stand was connected with the other, not by nails or pins, but only the solder held them together, and it was the binding for the iron. The form of the stand was that of a tower, narrowing towards the top from a broad base. The sides however were not entirely closed in, but had iron bands across them like the rungs of a ladder. The upright bars of iron were turned outwards at the top, and thus formed the seat of the vase. Curiously, Pausanias makes no note of the figures which a native of Delphi says he saw sculptured on it.<sup>2</sup> Whether they ever existed or not, it is clear that this iron stand was an object of great admiration through several centuries. As regards the date of Glaukos, if it is to be taken from that of his patron Alyattes,<sup>3</sup> it will fall roundly about B.C. 630, at which time, as has been seen, the Samians presented their colossal vase to the temple of Hera, without leaving on record the name of the artist who made it. That the artist may have been Glaukos, there is no need to suppose. But it is urgent that this special period of early artistic activity, when gigantic vessels of metal were made and sculptured, should be borne in

<sup>1</sup> x. 16. 1. Compare Herodotus, i. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Hegesandros, quoted by Athenæus, v. p. 210, B. C.

<sup>3</sup> The date given by Eusebius is Olymp. 22, that is, about sixty years before Alyattes. On the subject of *σιδήρου κάλλιπς* see Michaelis in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1876, p. 156, who discusses it as

against those who take it to mean welding, and those who identify it with the process called "damascening," or "lamination." It should be mentioned that the stand of Glaukos would probably have required what is called "hard brazing," that is, the entire object would have to go into the fire.

mind as the first historical stage of Greek art, in which appears that impulse towards great and imposing achievements which afterwards was its noblest characteristic.



Fig. 12.—Bronze bust from Polledrara tomb, Vulci.

To illustrate the ordinary workmanship of about B.C. 600, we may refer to the relief attached to a bronze bust in the British Museum (Fig. 12). The bust was found in a tomb at Vulci with many other antiqui-



ties, but in particular with a porcelain scarab, bearing the name of the Egyptian king Psammetichos I., who died B.C. 612. No one can tell whether this scarab had been placed in the tomb at some time during the long reign of this monarch, or after his death; but equally it cannot be denied that the contents of the tomb taken altogether, point to the latter half of the 7th century B.C. Strangely enough these same contents do not indicate, as we should have expected, an intercourse between Etruria and Greece proper; Corinth, for example, whence the first great impulse to art is said to have reached Etruria. They indicate rather an intercourse with those Greeks settled in Egypt, to whom Psammetichos owed so much. It is not only the scarab with his name that points in this direction. A multitude of other objects, such as porcelain vases with blundered hieroglyphics, and ostrich eggs engraved with half Greek, half Oriental designs, these all betray their origin amid a Greek settlement in the Delta of Egypt.

We may therefore place our bronze bust (Fig. 12) somewhere before B.C. 600. It will serve in a measure to illustrate the condition both of sculpture in the round and in relief. It will show how, by long antecedent practice, working in relief had attained a definite and certain degree of skill, while the effort to produce a head in the round has resulted so unsuccessfully, that we cannot reasonably think of it otherwise than among the earliest attempts of the kind. Indeed, no real success was to be expected, when as yet the process of casting in bronze was unknown, and when to produce a head or figure in the round no means were at hand but to beat out a number of thin sheets of bronze into resemblances of parts of the desired model, and finally, to fasten the parts together with fine pins. Such is the process employed on the bust in question. But as regards the reliefs on it there was no such technical

impediment. They fairly represent the taste and skill of the day. They reflect the taste of an age in which an older fashion of decoration consisting of rows of Oriental animals was being mixed with, and was giving way to, a new taste for human figures, horses, and chariots, a taste peculiar to the latter half of the 7th century B.C.

An ancient picture of the processes of making bronze statues is seen on a vase in the Museum of Berlin.<sup>1</sup> First, there is a furnace at which a boy is blowing the bellows, while an old man sitting in front rakes the fire. Lying about are a number of heads and tablets with designs. A youth leans on his hammer. A bearded smith is busy on the arm of a statue which is lying on its back, and as yet has not had the head attached to it. On the other side of the vase is the statue of an armed warrior raised on a platform or scaffold, and two workmen, small compared with it, are engaged in finishing the surface. It will be observed that in the centre the work has advanced considerably, and that the two statues are now placed together in a group representing a warrior fighting over the body of a fallen friend or foe, as in the centre of the pediment sculptures from Ægina. An engraving of this vase will be found on the Frontispiece.

While as yet no definite promise of her future greatness in art was apparent in Athens, at Sparta and the neighbouring town of Amyklæ works of importance besides those already mentioned, were in progress. In the former city, Gitiadas,<sup>2</sup> a Spartan by birth, and a poet, if perhaps not an inspired one, as well as a sculptor, undertook the statue of Athene, of bronze like the

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved from Gerhard's  
Trinkschalen, pls. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, iii. 17. 2, and iii.  
18. 7.

temple in which it stood. It has been explained that what was meant by this building being of bronze was that its walls were plated with this material, like the gates erected by Shalmaneser II. at Balawat, and when Pausanias says that on the bronze were numerous scenes from legend and mythology, he may be supposed to convey the impression of their having been sculptured on the walls in relief in the manner of the many scenes on these gates. It has been thought, however, that the bronze statue itself was thus decorated, and in favour of this view is the representation of it on a coin of Sparta, showing bands of reliefs running round the pillar-like figure. Still it is not probable that walls plated with bronze would be left in the glare of that material without sculptured decoration, nor is it well conceivable that a single statue could have borne the numerous scenes referred to by Pausanias. Among them he mentions specially the deeds of Herakles, the Dioscuri carrying off the daughters of Lykippos, Hephæstos freeing his mother Hera from her bonds, Perseus receiving the helmet and sandals from the Nymphs, the scene at the birth of Athene, Amphitrite and Poseidon. At Amyklæ were to be seen two bronze tripods by Gitiadas, the one supported by a figure of Aphrodite, the other of Artemis. A third tripod, with Persephone or Demeter, was by Kallon of Ægina, of whom more remains to be said.<sup>1</sup>

But, notwithstanding the eminence of local talent which was able to sculpture reliefs like that of Fig. 13,

<sup>1</sup> W. Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, ix. p. 170, compares the scene of Perseus and the Nymphs on an archaic vase (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, pl. 9), but it may be doubted

whether that vase is not of too early a character for the purpose, since Gitiadas was a contemporary of Kallon of Ægina, whom Klein places towards the end of the 6th century (*ibid.* p. 169).

it is somewhere about this early time that there appear in that town a company of sculptors from Magnesia on the Mæander, headed by Bathykles, and commissioned to execute an extensive work of sculpture.

There was at Amyklæ an ancient statue of Apollo about which some sanctity attached, all the more so



Fig. 13.—Marble Stele, found at Sparta.

because underneath the statue was the tomb of the hero Hyakinthos. The pedestal of the statue was in fact a sort of sarcophagus of Hyakinthos. The statue was in the form of a pillar of bronze with the head, arms and feet in some other material, the whole being about 45 feet high. Curiously enough in this instance Apollo wore a helmet, and held in one hand a spear, in the other a bow. Such is the description of Pausanias, and



it is confirmed by a coin of Lacedæmon,<sup>1</sup> which has been used in the accompanying sketch of a restoration of the throne (Fig. 14).

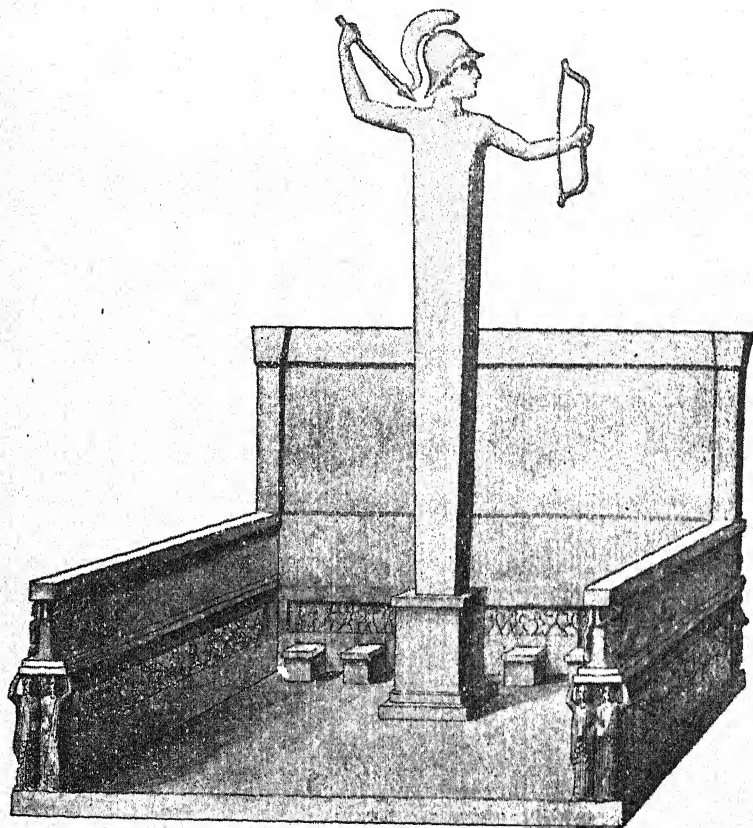


Fig. 14.—Restoration of throne of Apollo, at Amyklæ.

The task assigned to Bathyklees was to surround this

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iii. 18.6; P. Gardner, *Journal of Hellen. Studies*, 1886, pl. 65, no. xvii. On another coin on the same plate (no. xvi.) appears a statue also wearing a helmet and holding a bow in the left hand

with a spear raised in the right, and a figure of a goat at the feet. This figure wears a long robe, which swells outward towards the feet. Apparently it represents a different statue.

high pillar-like statue with sculptured enrichments.<sup>1</sup> The form devised for this purpose was what Pausanias calls a throne. "It was a throne," he says, "consisting of several seats with a broad space between each seat, the broadest space being in the centre; and in this central space stood the statue." The base of the statue took the form of an altar sculptured with many groups in relief. These groups are indicated as having been distributed on three sides of the base, whence we may infer that the back had been invisible. It has been supposed that the spare seats were intended for imaginary deities allied with Apollo; but it is not impossible to conceive them as having been intended for the use of the priests or officials who attended at the sacrifices regularly held on the spot in honour of Hyakinthos.

What Pausanias appears to have meant by the word

<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the subjects on this throne of Apollo as proposed by Quatremère de Quincy, pls. 6-7, or by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd in the Museum of Classical Antiquities, ii. p. 132, does not altogether commend itself to me. The scheme of arrangement I have given is all but identical with that of Brunn, Rhein. Mus. v. 325, and Overbeck, Griech. Plastik, 2nd ed. p. 83. Lately W. Klein has discussed the subject very fully, and proposed a scheme of arrangement which has much to recommend it. See Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, ix. p. 145. He seeks to establish a comparison of this throne in its general aspect with the representations of a Persian king standing apparently on an elaborate throne, as seen in the rock sculptures illustrated in

Dieulafoy, L'Art Antique de la Perse, i. pl. 10, and iii. pls. 2-4. Restorations of this throne will be found also in the Arch. Zeit. 1852, pl. 43, and 1854, pl. 70. Some rude figures in lead, found on the site of the Menelaion in Sparta, will give a notion of what the very early art of this town was like. They are engraved in the Arch. Zeitung, 1854, pl. 65, figs. 5-13, and described by Ross, p. 218. A bronze, found in the tumulus of Achilles in the Troad (engraved, Gerhard, Kl. Schriften, pl. 60, fig. 3), recalls in a general way part of the description of Pausanias. The figure, possibly one of the Graces, stands on the horses of the Dioscuri, and from her shoulders "run up" sphinxes and two wild animals.

throne was an enclosure surrounding the statue, similar to the richly painted enclosure round the statue of Zeus at Olympia, with a difference which Pausanias expressly notes afterwards when speaking of the statue at Olympia (v. ii. 4). He there uses the words, that one could not get into the throne at Olympia as was possible at Amyklæ (*ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον* in the one case and *ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστι ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον* in the other), but we now know exactly what the enclosure at Olympia was like,<sup>1</sup> and if we employ this knowledge as Pausanias expressly intended his readers to do in forming an idea of the throne at Amyklæ, we must conclude that there was this practical difference between the two, that at Amyklæ one could get inside what he calls the throne. That is to say, instead of being closed across the front as at Olympia, it was open across the front. Fig. 14 therefore shows an enclosure in the form of a gigantic chair or throne, decorated with sculpture inside and outside. The accompanying table will give an idea of the distribution of the subjects.

The legs of the throne were in the form of two Graces and two Seasons, the same before and behind, in all eight figures. As far as the Graces are concerned they are here assumed to have been represented as draped figures in accordance with the custom of early artists (Paus. ix. 35, 6), and doubtless the same would be true of the Seasons (Horæ). The function of these figures was the same as that of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, or of those numerous archaic statuettes in bronze which served as stands for mirrors, or otherwise acted as supports. We may assume for them a general character not unlike those archaic marble female statues found in recent years on the Acropolis of Athens.

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<sup>1</sup> See volume ii.

Supporting the arm-rails, or rather the apparent arm-rails,—for the sides of the throne would be solid,—were two groups of creatures with human bodies ending in tails of serpents or fish,—two Tritons, Typhon and Echidna—such as in fact are to be seen on nearly contemporary works of sculpture, e.g., a chair on the Harpy tomb. The back of the throne rose to some height above the arm-rails, having at each side a strong upright beam surmounted by one of the two Dioscuri on horseback; below each horse a sphinx, and lower still a panther and a lioness, represented as running up the upright beam. Highest of all was a horizontal band on which the workmen and assistants of Bathykles were figured. Only we must remember that on this theory of explanation the friends of the sculptor would be figured on the outside of the top-rail, because Pausanias, immediately after mentioning them, turns to go inside. It is in fact clear that he went round the outside first, after having described the general aspect of the front. Besides, it was surely but right for Bathykles and his assistants, if they wished to immortalize themselves, to do so on the back of their work.

Incidents of cruelty and crime, whether related or depicted, are said to have a charm for uncultured minds, but it would be rash, even in the present day, to assume of those who are attracted in this manner that their natures are ignoble, be their minds however weak. The same was true of the early Greeks, and that the artists who appealed to them were fully conscious of this may be seen in the representations on this throne of Apollo. It has been attempted<sup>1</sup> to explain a connection between these scenes and certain rites pertaining to the worship of Apollo at Amyklæ and the

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn, Rhein. Museum, 1847, p. 334.



death of Hyakinthos, whose tomb was under the throne. But although there may have been a partial connection of this kind, the scheme, on the whole, would both imply a choice from a much wider circle of subjects than can well be accredited to this period, and would prevent all application of the view just stated, that early artists were well aware of the capabilities of scenes of cruelty and crime to arrest the general attention. The gods seldom appear. They were largely protected by reverence. It was not till the ruling taste had become educated so as to delight in peaceful representations that they came to any great extent within the horizon of the artist. Most of the scenes on the throne exhibit killing or robbing, if not of life, of honour, with here and there an incident of peace or of humour. The theme is action, harrowing and engrossing. The appeal is to human nature, not to the thoughtful mind, and it may be well to remember that Greek art, with all its subsequent glory, had passed through this natural stage.

The date of Bathykles and the artists who accompanied him from Magnesia and whose portraits appeared on the top rail of the throne is uncertain, unless it be accepted as a reasonable combination of records when it is argued that the gold sent by Kræsos, at the request of the Lacedæmonians, for their statue of Apollo Pythæus, but applied by them for the Apollo of Amkylæ,<sup>1</sup> was in fact part of the material utilized by Bathykles, who thus would be assigned to a period in the reign of the Lydian king somewhere about B.C. 580. On this view of the case, the proximity of Magnesia would suggest that Kræsos had at the same time sent artists known to him. There is, it is true, no specific statement of

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iii. 10. 8.

gold having been employed in the designs of Bathykles ; yet, to judge from the prevailing use of this material in early art, gold probably was an artistic feature on the throne, notwithstanding the scarcity of it in Sparta implied in the request to Kræsos. Possibly the reliefs were executed in bronze and then gilded. But this connection with Kræsos, even if well founded, does not preclude Bathykles from having also worked in the reign of the former king of Lydia, Alyattes, in which case he may be regarded as a contemporary more or less of Glaukos of Chios. It may be noted that the Lacedæmonians, though in the view here set forth they obtained through Kræsos the aid of Bathykles, yet had an art of their own. Herodotus (i. 70) tells of a huge bronze vase which they had caused to be made and to be sent as a present to Kræsos. As it happened, the vase was intercepted, and finally was placed in the temple of Hera at Samos. The historian describes it as ornamented with figures round the neck (*ζωδίων τε ἑξέωθεν . . . περὶ τὸ χεῖλος*).

The use of gold and ivory for early statues of deities appears to have superseded an older custom of clothing them in actual drapery, doubtless richly embroidered with gold. For these figures various kinds of woods were employed, such as ebony, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, lotos, olive, fig and others, and from the pillar-like form of these figures it would seem that the trunk of the tree had been left unadorned, with nothing more than a head carved on it. Nor is it unlikely that the images



Fig. 15.—Head in ivory. From tomb at Spata, in Attica.

often standing in country places to represent patron divinities consisted of trunks of trees left with their roots in the ground and with a slightly-fashioned human head and arms. As such appears the Dionysos Dendrites occasionally figured on painted vases. It may be remembered also that Odysseus, in utilizing the tree in his court for a couch, did not remove it, but built his chamber round it. Besides the statue or xoanon of Athena, mentioned by Homer as being draped in real drapery, four other archaic instances are recorded by Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> The ivory was perhaps mostly stained to imitate natural colours, an art which Homer knew as a specialty of the Carians. When sculpture in marble succeeded, it was encumbered with this traditional use of natural colours. But sculpture in marble had no true opening till temples came to be built with splendour, calling for the same plastic enrichment on a colossal scale which previously had been developed, so to speak, in miniature, on thrones and chests. The old choice of designs followed it with such energetic action and representations of cruelty as would arrest the common spectator.

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 25. 3, a figure of Poseidon in Elis: ii. 11. 6, Asklepios in Tetane; vii. 23. 5, Eileithyia in Ægium, and viii. 42. 4, the black Demeter near Phigaleia. Compare Schubert on the materials worked in by Greek artists as seen from Pausanias, Rhein. Mus. xv. (1860) p. 84. On gold and ivory work see Quatremère de Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olympien*.

## CHAPTER V.

### ARCHAIC SCULPTURE IN RELIEF.

Oldest Metopes of Selinus—Reliefs of Assos—Of Sardes—Of Ephesus  
—Branchidae statues—Harpy tomb—Lycian friezes—Reliefs from  
Northern Greece—Reliefs from Attika.

THE brief existence of Selinus in Sicily, from its foundation in B.C. 651, or at the latest B.C. 628, down to its ruthless destruction by the Carthaginians B.C. 409, presents a page of history to which the student of Greek art turns eagerly. Not that artistic activity is known or supposed to have been greater there or of a higher quality than elsewhere, but because the ruined temples of that city have yielded a series of sculptured metopes which present in one case a peculiar, and in another a fascinating phase of Greek art, and in particular because these sculptures derive additional importance from the fact that the possible limits of their date are narrowly circumscribed. Selinus was a prosperous colony from the beginning, and it would not be reasonable to conclude otherwise than that in its prosperity it did not overlook the first duty of a colony, to raise a temple worthy of the protecting deity of the mother town. That the oldest of the temples now visible among the ruins of the Acropolis is the building, which in accordance with usage they first erected, is not within absolute proof. But to judge from the rudeness of its sculptured metopes in comparison with those of a later temple on what is called the East hill, it is necessary to allow such an interval of artistic development as would reach back to nearly the period accepted for the foundation



of the colony. These later metopes are in a style of sculpture which has justly been compared with that prevailing at Athens about the time of Pheidias, and would thus have been executed within a life-time previous to the final destruction of Selinus.

While on these general grounds the oldest metopes may be assigned to a period not perhaps later than

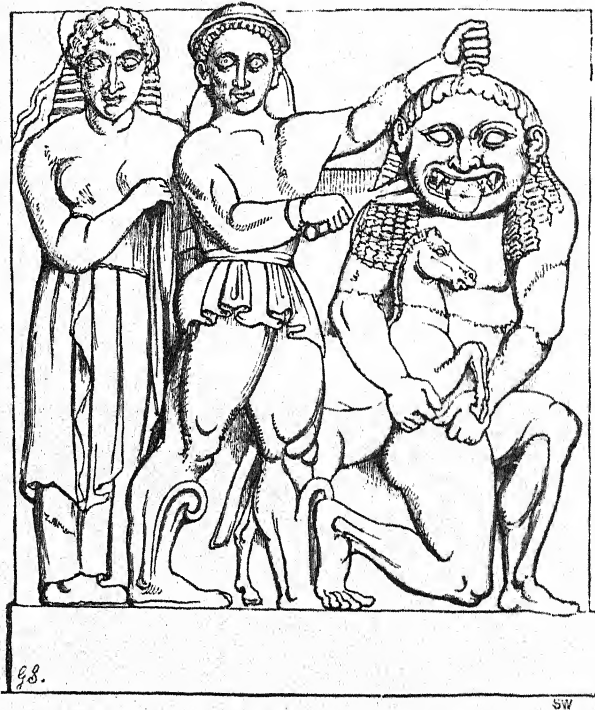


Fig. 16.—Perseus cutting off head of Medusa. Metope of oldest temple at Selinus.

B.C. 600, they will be found on examination to present both in spirit and in execution those principal features which would be expected from the early records of art already discussed. But first it should be stated that no trace was found of sculptured figures in the pediments of the temple in question, nor of metopes, except in the front. Of these, three are complete. Fragments only of some others exist. They are of a fine grey tufo still

to be quarried eastward of Selinus. The three metopes represent (1) a quadriga driven to the front, (2) Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa (Fig. 16), and (3) Herakles carrying the Kerkopes, bound by the heels, over his shoulder. Altogether there were ten metopes,<sup>1</sup> of which the quadriga and a companion group of similar aspect occupied the two centre spaces. Next on the right is placed Perseus, and next to him again Herakles, so that the movement of these two figures is in a direction away from the centre, and is thus the reverse of what would obtain in a pediment where the movement of the figures is towards the middle, consistently with the triangular space available. The ancient colours have largely vanished, but enough remained on the discovery to show that the background of the reliefs was red, that green, blue and yellow had been employed in the draperies and accessories, and that details of the features had been picked out with a brownish black. The chariot is in much higher relief than the other metopes, and this, together with its position directly to the front, seems to express an artistic purpose of forming by means of the two chariot groups, a solid and conspicuous centre for the whole range of metopes. The figures in the other two metopes, while moving sideways, have their heads and shoulders turned full to the front, as if in this way better to support the weight of stone above them, or perhaps, rather in accordance with a

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<sup>1</sup> See a sketch for a reconstruction of the front in Benndorf's *Metopen von Selinunt*, p. 38, where the evidence for the arrangement of the metopes is fully discussed. Reference also should here be made to this work of Benndorf's, both for the numerous details of the temples of Selinus, and for a criticism of the sculptures. The

sketch referred to appears to be the same as that given by Angell and Harris, who discovered the metopes in 1823, in their work, *The Sculptured Metopes of the Ancient City of Selinus*, pl. 5, which also contains coloured illustrations of the three oldest metopes on pls. 6-8.

traditional habit of early sculpture in which, as has been said, a primary necessity was to produce a striking if not a staring effect. An instance of this will be seen on a sepulchral stele<sup>1</sup> of grayish blue stone found in a tumulus near Sparta and sculptured with two figures, apparently Hades and Persephone, approached by two diminutive suppliants bearing gifts. Hades, though seated in profile, turns his face full to the front towards the spectator. Like the columns of the temple itself, the proportions of Perseus, Herakles and the other figures are short, but whether that was a feature of early Doric art as of architecture is open to doubt. As a corrective to the general grossness of the forms,



Fig. 17.—Coin of Eubœa, head of Gorgon.

drapery where it occurs is worked in flat delicate folds, treated less with truth to nature than to produce a scheme of graceful lines, and possibly this decorative effect was in other parts enhanced by means of colour. Similarly the face of Medusa is subdued by a gracefulness in its lines taken individually which, it is suggested, may have become typical in the course of a longer practice in rendering this favourite subject, a suggestion which very justly implies that the development of early sculpture in Greece, like that of painting in Italy, was attended by minute carefulness in elaborating details at the expense of true expression in the whole design. The heels are not raised from the ground, though the

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Institutes in Athen*, 1877, pl. 20. Compare the repetitions of the same subject, also from the neighbourhood of Sparta, in the same volume, pls. 22-25.

From the photographs of the head on pl. 21 of this volume, it may be questioned whether the style is not more developed than that of the oldest metopes of Selinus.

figures are striding, and in striding are strained throughout their limbs.

The subjects of Perseus and Herakles confirm the impression produced by the records of early sculpture, that it appealed to the spectator mainly by deeds of violence, not unmixed with the ludicrous. Herakles, with the Kerkopes over his shoulder, looks like a thing for rustics to stare at; and if it be asked why the Greeks chose such a subject for the decoration of a temple, it may be answered that a Greek temple was less a building for religious purposes than a treasure-house, and secondly, that subjects of this kind had been rendered familiar in every-day art illustrative of the common legends of the country. According to analogy, the female figure beside Perseus should be Athena, and though neither her helmet nor her ægis is given to complete the identity, it will, perhaps, be well to accept her as such. The chariot group has been variously explained as Pelops or Cœnomaos, Helios, Selene, or Phaethon, with a preference, however, for connecting it with a solar deity. But a vague representation, as of Helios or Selene, would ill harmonize with the direct, decisive and obvious incidents of the other metopes close by, while it would leave unexplained the action of the two figures at the sides of the chariot, who have each a hand raised as if holding on by the tresses of the figure in the car itself. One of them actually grasps a tress of hair. The figure in the car is of smaller and more youthful proportions than the other two, and as such might personate Phaethon starting on his unwise career, if that could be regarded as a sufficiently definite and telling subject. With diffidence it may be suggested that the scene is the return of Kore, accompanied by Hades and Demeter, as on the base of the statue at Amyklæ, in which case the corresponding chariot group would have represented the carrying off of Kore by



Hades. Both subjects were, so to speak, at home in Sicily, and both by the violence of their action would be in keeping with the other designs. In the Perseus metope (Fig. 16), it will be observed that though the winged horse Pegasus did not spring into existence until the head of Medusa was cut off, it is already present and held at her side. Obviously the sculptor, as not unfrequently happened in early art, wished to render as best he could two separate moments at one and the same time.

The strained action of the legs noticeable in Perseus and Herakles is a constant feature of early sculpture, even when the figure professes to be standing in repose, as, for example, in the Apollo from Tenea or the Apollo of Miletus. Nowhere is it more obvious than in the sculptured stelè found at Tanagra in Bœotia, with a relief of Dermys and Kitylos,<sup>1</sup> as the inscribed names convey. These two figures are nude, and stand to the front, each with an arm embracing the other. Resting on their heads is a small entablature, and it might be supposed that the straining of their limbs was purposely produced to show that they perform a static function. In Egyptian sculpture it is common to find figures similarly employed, but though the limbs are there displayed at full length, there is not in them this manifest straining which seems rather to arise from an

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Gazette Archéol.* 1878, pl. 29. A photograph of this stelè is published in the *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Institutes in Athen*, 1878, pl. 14, with description at p. 309. On the base is a metrical inscription containing the names of Dermys and Kitylos, which again are repeated beside each of the figures. Compare in the same volume of the *Mittheilungen*, pl. 15,

the stelè from Thespiae in honour of Gathon and Aristokrates, with its flat delicate relief. Much ruder is the Spartan stelè (*Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1871, pl. c.), the hard technical treatment of which may be due to practice in sculpturing the old *xoana* of wood. Cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1877, p. 443, on this and the other archaic reliefs from Sparta.

artistic manner of conceiving the vitality or real life of the subject, peculiar to the early Greeks. It seems to be in the natural growth of art to attract attention by vivid, if very imperfect, realization, and not till a reputation, so to speak, has been acquired, does it venture on the search for types of ideal beauty. There is beauty in the details of the Selinus metopes, but no consciousness of it in the types of figure. The

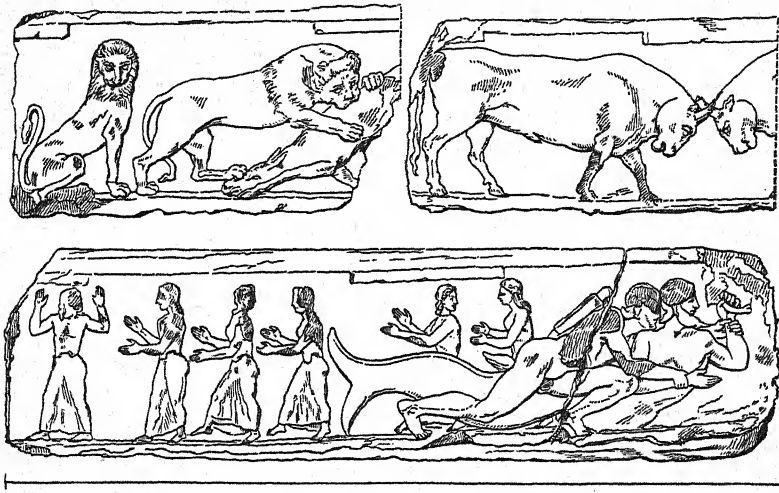


Fig. 18.—Three slabs of frieze in the Louvre. From Assos in the Troad.

bones of the knees and ankles, the muscles of the legs, and the movement of masses of flesh on the upper arms, are all indicated with a general knowledge and skill which has come from the study of the human figure under exertion; and when the character of the legends, the exploits of the epic poetry, and even the contentious activity of life in the early historical period are taken into account, it will not appear strange that the artists conceived only such types as have been described.

Hitherto our studies have been mostly confined to sculpture in relief. There was indeed little choice if we consider that working in relief was the particular branch of art in which the Greeks first proved their

native talent. For the most part our information has been drawn from literary sources. But now that we have had an opportunity of considering the metopes of Selinus, in Sicily, we may carry farther our examination of actual remains by turning to the archaic reliefs<sup>1</sup> from the temple of Assos in the Troad. It will be seen from the sketches here given (Fig. 18) that we have still to do with a phase of art in which an older habit of representing only animals has not been altogether abandoned, but survives side by side as of almost equal rank with the figures of human or semi-human beings. The animals are those whose names ring in the Homeric poems, a pair of bulls butting, lions devouring a bull and a goat, and another lion devouring a stag, while his mate sits as if already sated. It will be seen that the regular Oriental type of these subjects, as handed down in numerous instances, has been preserved. With the half-human and half-equine Centaurs which occur on several slabs an unexpected freedom is taken in giving some of them a horse's forelegs instead of the legs of a man, the more archaic form being that in which the forelegs are human, as in others of the Centaurs on this temple. On another slab is again a combination of human with animal form in the person

<sup>1</sup> In the Louvre, engraved in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pls. 116A-116B, and in Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 97, who doubts whether these reliefs belonged to an earlier date than B.C. 540. But compare Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 9, who believes them to belong to a very early period, not, however, before the 7th century B.C.; engraved also in the *Monumenti d. Inst. Arch.* iii. pl. 34. There is no doubt that the slabs belonged to the architrave of the temple. Friederichs points out

that on an Assyrian relief in the British Museum man and wife recline together on a banquet couch, as in Greek usage. In the American excavations in 1881, when eleven pieces of reliefs were found, and removed partly to Boston in America, but chiefly to Constantinople, the architectural features of the temple were ascertained. See Clarke, *Investigations at Assos*, 1881, published as a volume in the Papers of the American School at Athens.

of Nereus, whose body ends in a fish's tail, stretching conspicuously along the relief. To the astonishment of six nymphs or Nereids, whose hands are raised in horror, Herakles seizes hold of Nereus, with a foregone result as the Nereids hastening away imply. These nymphs occupy the entire height of the slab, and yet they are made to appear small in comparison with the combatants, for both of whom colossal proportions are secured by means of the sloping and almost horizontal position in which they struggle. From the actual form of Nereus, no other position was possible, and yet, notwithstanding the just observation of fact implied in the attitude of Herakles and Nereus, we cannot avoid remembering that in very archaic art, as, for instance, on the oldest engraved gems, the habit of crowding together its figures, regardless often of the possibilities of nature, was a prevailing feature. On one such gem we find this very subject. It would seem, therefore, as if the sculptor must have lived at a time when the influence of the East, with its fantastic animals, was giving way to the Greek preference of human forms. Another scene on the frieze of Assos represents the banquet of Herakles and the Centaur Pholos. That this was the subject has been ascertained by the additional sculptures found at Assos by the Americans in 1881, by whom also it was definitely proved that the frieze of this temple had been placed in an unusual position on the epistyle, immediately above the columns, and that above the frieze was a series of metopes. The date of this temple cannot well be later than the 7th century B.C.

To a somewhat later date may be assigned the fragmentary marble relief from Samothrace,<sup>1</sup> representing,

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 116, no. 238; and Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 98. Compare Friederichs, *Millingen, Uned. Mon. ii. pl. 1*; Bausteine, p. 18.



according to the names inscribed beside the figures, Agamemnon seated, with his herald Talthybios, and Epeios, the artist of the wooden horse, standing behind him. The beard of Agamemnon is pointed, and projects almost horizontally as on early Greek coins; the eyes of all the figures are set in the side of the face, the

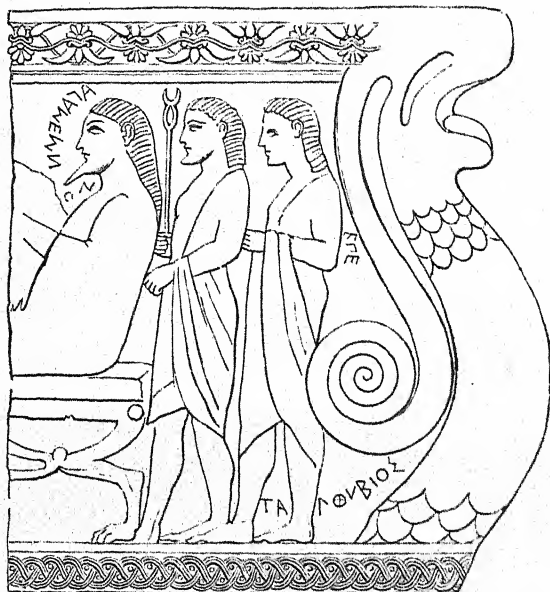


Fig. 19.—Marble relief from Samothrace. In the Louvre.

heels are firm on the ground, the forms are spare, and no display is made of drapery beyond what is necessary, while the relief is very flat. It has been said that the ornamental border along the top, and the manner of the attendants standing behind the king's throne, are to be traced to an origin in Assyrian art, and this is true so far as it applies to a remote origin.

But to return to the coast of Asia Minor, and in particular to those districts bordering on the ancient kingdom of Lydia, whose rulers for several generations had exercised a powerful influence on the neighbouring

Greek settlers by the encouragement they bestowed on the fine arts. It was through Gyges that coinage was invented. Later on we read of Alyattes frequently in connection with works of art, and, lastly, we know that Kræsos, with whom the kingdom collapsed, was a

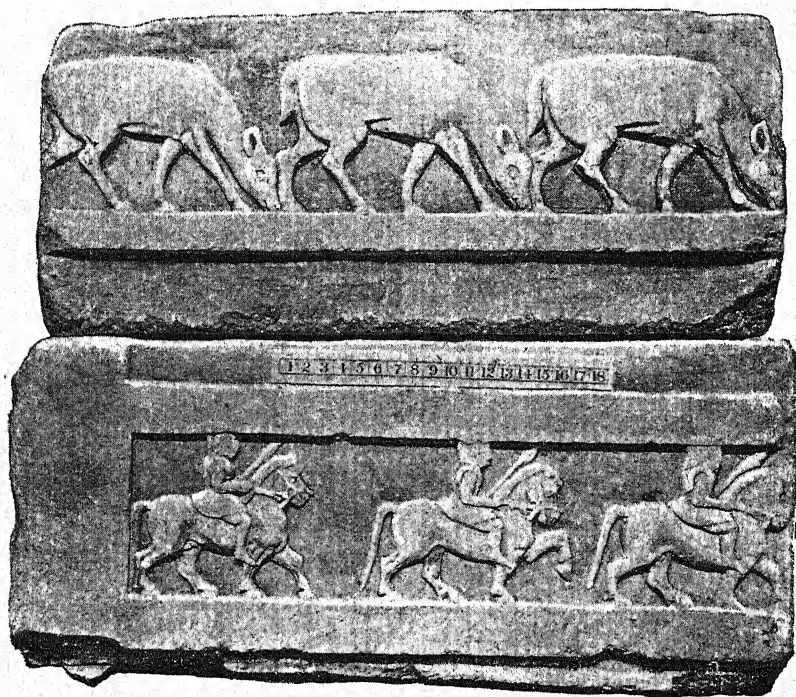


Fig. 20.—Two reliefs in marble found in tumulus of the Bin Tepè, Sardes. British Museum.

liberal patron of sculpture among his Greek neighbours. Apparently Samos was the chief centre of these artistic Greeks. We begin with two marble reliefs found in Lydia itself near Sardes, by Mr. George Dennis (Fig. 20). The combination of human figures and animals, the flatness of the relief, and the existence of painstaking truthfulness in some details, with slovenliness in the completion of others, are features that point to the first half of the 6th century B.C. It is

indeed quite possible that these reliefs may be older than this date and may carry us back to the time of Alyattes, with whom was contemporary the Naxian sculptor Byzes, famed for his having invented a means of cutting marble into thin slabs to be used for the roofs of buildings to replace terra-cotta.<sup>1</sup> In connection with these figures of horsemen it may be remembered that Herodotus (i. 79), speaking of the Lydian army in the time of Kræsos, says that it was the bravest and most powerful army in Asia, that they fought on horseback with large spears, and were good riders.

The proximity of Ephesus, already famous as a great religious centre of the Greeks, was likely enough to attract a monarch of the disposition of Kræsos, and as it happens we have evidence of his liberality towards that town, not only in the pages of Herodotus, but in a series of sculptures which have survived in fragments from the old temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the temple which was burned down on the night when Alexander the Great was born. These sculptures were obtained in 1872-74 under the foundations of the later temple, which was built in the lifetime of Alexander. We are told that in passing with his army Alexander desired to be allowed to inscribe his name on the new temple as its dedicator, but that the priest successfully dissuaded him. From what we now know it may be surmised that this desire of Alexander's arose from his being aware that on the former temple was inscribed the name of King Kræsos. As regards these fragmentary sculptures, it may be mentioned, that though we possess a considerable number of pieces from what appears to be the cornice of the temple, yet hardly any two of them have been found to fit together, notwithstanding long and continuous efforts. From this it may be argued that

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, v. 10. 3.

these many isolated fragments had belonged to a very extensive piece of sculpture, such as the cornice of a great temple, they being a mere fraction of the whole. In restoring a part of the cornice from them, I was led originally by the observation that the working of the back and joints of the stones is precisely of the same kind as that of the cornice of the later temple, regular divisions being made in the gutter so that the water collecting from the roof might flow out at the lions' mouths at regular intervals. No doubt the cornice as thus restored wants the graceful profile of later architecture, but that is not altogether without precedent.

We have thus a cornice in which the spaces between the lions' heads where the rain on the roof escaped, are occupied not by floral ornaments as in the later temple, and in Greek architecture in general, but by groups sculptured with extraordinary minuteness and delicacy.

As regards the designs represented in these sculptures, we may suppose either that they had formed a continuous subject, separated into groups by the lions' heads, or that they had consisted of an extensive series of separate subjects, in the manner of metopes. In either case this separation of sculptured groups may throw some light on the origin of metopes. I have only attempted to suggest one group in the centre of the diagram, a group which may be restored as the combat of a Greek and a Centaur following the analogy of a gem engraved in the "*Journal of Hellenic Studies*" (i. p. 130). The Centaur has human not equine forelegs—a circumstance familiar in archaic art. The hand holding a branch, which is let in at the top, is so suitable for a Centaur, that I need not quote instances of it.

As regards the figures on the sculptured drum, I do not of course vouch that the upper parts belong absolutely to the lower. It is a matter of general truth only. There must have been something of the kind.



On one of the Ephesus figures there is something behind the shoulders probably part of quiver, which with the panther skin would well enough suit Apollo.<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that under the feet of the figures is a flat band, which does not exist in the later temple. Next comes a torus moulding, as in



Fig. 21.—Archaic base of column. Ephesus.

the later temple, but smaller. In the restoration of this moulding I have employed the fragments which, according to Mr. Hick's quite obvious conjecture, are inscribed with the name and dedication of Kræsos. We were guided to that by a large piece of unfinished base moulding in the museum, on the upper edge of

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<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, iii. Münztafel, v. 30.

which is carved a torus exactly the same as that of the inscribed fragments. We know from Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> that Kræsos bore the expense of most of the columns of the temple as it existed in the time of Herodotus.

The question how far up these columns were sculptured has now been settled, it is to be hoped, by the finding of the large bold leaf moulding which fits on to the top of the lowermost drum, and which in fact combines with the base mouldings to convert the whole of the lowermost drum into a great pedestal supporting a fluted column (Fig. 21). The sculpture of the archaic columns, so far as I can judge, is of the same period as the cornice. The forms are of course larger and more simply treated. But the workmanship is of the same delicate archaic kind. On the column the remains of colour are slighter than on the cornice, where in some parts they are quite brilliant in reds and blues. We have the same reds in parts of the columns, and in other fragments we have remains of blue; the marble also is of the same quality, finer than that of the later temple, or at all events made to look finer by most careful workmanship. This workmanship is conspicuous in the architectural mouldings and flutings as compared with the later temple. Though I had no hesitation in selecting these archaic fragments, I have been glad since then to find the selection confirmed by a practical observation to this effect, that there is no trace of the use of a claw tool in the archaic remains. It abounds in the later temple.

The date of the archaic temple from which these fragments have so strangely survived, is determined by the inscribed mouldings bearing the name of Kræsos, Βα[σιλεὺς] Κρ[όσος] ἀνέ[θηκ]εν, taken together with the statement of Herodotus, that most of the columns had

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<sup>1</sup> I. 92.

been the gift of that king. Herodotus spoke of the temple which existed in his time, and he had good means of knowing the truth from his residence close at hand in Samos. Kræsos, we are told, had at one time laid siege to Ephesus, on which occasion the Ephesians had sought protection by connecting the temple of Artemis with the city walls by means of a rope. For some reason or other, whether before that incident or after it, a new temple certainly was built, largely by the aid of Kræsos. The architect for a while was Chersiphron, of whom we hear in various ways. The sculptured columns must have been executed during his office. But nothing is said of the sculptors who had been employed. In connection with them I have only a passing conjecture to offer.

Comparing these archaic fragments from Ephesus with the marble statue of Nikè by Archermos, now in the museum at Athens (Fig. 38), it seems as if the differences of style were of such a kind as would be expected from a son of Archermos. They are the differences of a new generation at a time of active progress in art. That new generation was represented by Bupalos, the son of Archermos. Bupalos and the family of sculptors to which he belonged worked in marble. He was an architect, and sculptured reliefs in marble. We read of figures of the Graces by him in Smyrna and Pergamon. He had therefore been employed in the immediate neighbourhood of Ephesus. That he worked in Ephesus is not directly stated. We know this, however, that the poet Hipponax was a native of Ephesus, that Bupalos made caricatures of the poet, that Hipponax revenged himself by a stinging satire in iambics—"Acer hostis Bupalos," as Horace says. We are told<sup>1</sup> that sculptures by Bupalos and

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H., xxxvi., 13.

the school to which he belonged were to be seen in Rome in considerable numbers, and that they were greatly admired by Augustus. From another source<sup>1</sup> we gather that Servius Tullius, recognizing the great fame and influence of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, caused to be erected on the Aventine in Rome a temple to that goddess. For that temple he procured a statue of Diana which is said<sup>2</sup> to have been of the same



Fig. 22.—Female head, from sculptured column of Ephesus. British Museum.

type as the statue which the Phocæans had taken with them from Ephesus when they founded Marseilles, and which is described as the Ephesian Artemis. The style of the sculpture, if we may infer it from the archaic statue of Aphrodite found in Marseilles, would

<sup>1</sup> Livy, I. 45, and Dionys. Hal. iv., 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iv. p. 480. For the archaic Aphrodite of Marseilles,

now in the Museum of Lyons, see Gaz. Arch. 1876, pl. 31, p. 133, and H. Bazin, *L'Aphrodite Marseillaise*, p. 10.



correspond perfectly with the Ephesian sculptures now under consideration. As, further, Servius Tullius was careful to have archaic Greek writing copied on the bronze tablet attached to his new temple, we may fairly suppose that he had also endeavoured to have the general aspect of the Ephesian temple reproduced in



Fig. 23.—Part of sculptured column, from Ephesus. British Museum. (Shown on smaller scale in Fig. 21.)

Rome. We could then understand how in later times the Romans developed so marked a love for sculptured columns and for the works of Bupalos and his school. About the contemporaneousness of Kræsos, Hipponax, Bupalos, and these sculptured fragments, there is no reason to have the smallest doubt.

The head (Fig. 22) is sculptured in high relief and

has been fitted to one of the columns (Fig. 21). The lips are full and strikingly sensuous, as are also the large projecting eyes, which no eyebrows overshadow. The brow is flat, and between the eyes the nose is very broad, suggestive of the general difference in the relative position of the eyes between man and the lower animals. The cheeks are full and fleshy, and the chin projects.

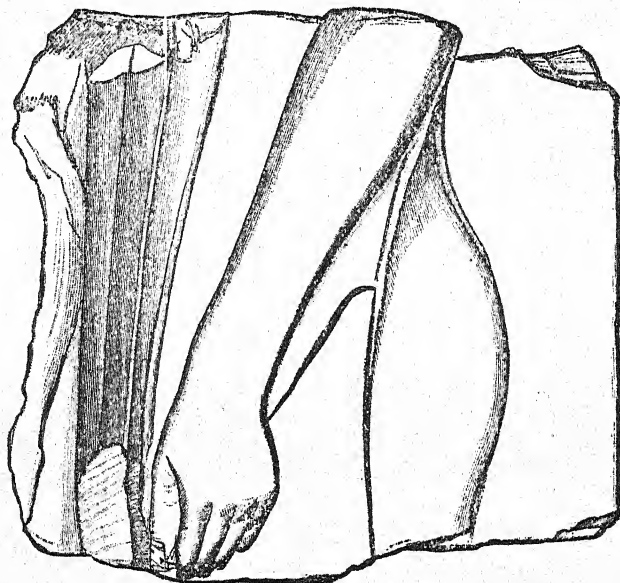


Fig. 24.—Part of archaic temple at Ephesus. British Museum.

The hair, visible over the forehead, is waved in fine lines, only partially modelled into the appearance of reality. Over the head and down the back it lies in long parallel tresses, also partially modelled. A flat diadem encircles the head, in the ear is a large circular ear-ring, and round the neck has been a necklace. The surface of the marble has a fine grain, and has been polished to almost the appearance of ivory. In addition, red colour remains on the eyes, in the hair, and on the ground of the relief. The profile slopes backward towards the brow.

The sensuous type, here so obvious, recurs in three other fragmentary heads of reliefs from the same quarter.

That the strongly-marked sensuousness of expression here referred to was a characteristic of the early sculpture of Asia Minor would in itself be probable from what is known of the Greek settlements there, and it is confirmed by the recurrence of the same features in sculptures from other parts of that coast. Among them may be mentioned the reliefs of the so-called Harpy-tomb, which though unquestionably later in date still preserve the full swollen lips and large forward eyes. This general aspect is noticeable again in the one fairly preserved head from Branchidæ, and doubtless it would have been equally apparent in the heads of the seated figures from that locality had they been preserved. Only one remains attached to its figure, and it is defaced. In a marble head found at Athens<sup>1</sup> the type, though the same, is treated with a sensitiveness, refinement and abhorrence of Asiatic excess, observable also in the marble head in the British Museum obtained from Lord Elgin, and presumably discovered at Athens.

Nine of the ten figures from Branchidæ<sup>2</sup> may be said

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Monuments Grecs*, no. 6 (1877), with an article by M. Rayet. Compare the archaic bronze head, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1877, pl. 3-4, with article, p. 20, by Brunn, who characterises it as the work of a Peloponnesian artist, and in this respect classes with it the Ludovisi marble head, *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 1, which Kekulé considered to be Attic, not without apparently good grounds. A study of the progress in rendering the human head, from the formal archaic manner to the nobly conceived type of the best period, may

be made on the series of terracotta masks from Kameiros in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> These ten marble statues, representing draped figures seated on chairs, were removed from Branchidæ to the British Museum by Sir C. T. Newton in 1858. Three of them are engraved by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 95. Six are engraved in Newton's *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidæ*, pls. 74-75, with descriptions, p. 530. Four are engraved in Müller's *Denkmäler*, no. 33.

to present only one distinctive type, with such differences of detail in the form of the drapery or in the ornamental borders of it as imply no artistic variety. In none of the nine is the figure more than blocked out, and that in accordance with a conception still unaware of the possibility of detaching the limbs. There is no knowledge beyond that of a mere outline, even in the folds of the drapery. But in the tenth statue a remarkable attempt at reality is introduced, the sculptor having been clearly over anxious to render emphatically the limbs underneath the dress, without at the same time being free, or perhaps prepared, to select an attitude in which both dress and limbs would have been equally displayed. That he was well skilled in drapery may be seen in the folds on the shoulders, the excellence of which renders his failure in dealing with those which fall below the knees next to ridiculous. The legs and the arms reveal not only a sense of life but of refinement, and from these characteristics, together with the carelessness with which the chair itself is sculptured, it may be taken that this figure belongs to a later and more advanced stage of art than the others. On one, larger than the rest, is inscribed the name of the artist, but the first letters have been lost. Another declares itself to be the portrait of Chares, ruler of Teichioussa,<sup>1</sup> near Branchidæ, and it has been argued from these inscriptions, on grounds laid down from the study of epigraphy, that the statues in question belong to a

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<sup>1</sup> The statue of Chares is well given in Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, pl. 25. From Teichioussa is a marble relief in the British Museum of the flat archaic style with a series of draped figures moving to the right somewhat as if in orgiastic excitement,

also published by Rayet and Thomas, loc. cit. pl. 27. On their pl. 21 is figured one of the marble statues in the Louvre, found in the necropolis of Miletus by Rayet and Thomas, more advanced in style than any from Branchidæ.



period about B.C. 540. If this be so, then they are ruder than they might well have been, and in fact this impression is conveyed among other points by the manner in which in some cases the wavy texture of the chiton is rendered, showing an acquaintance with and regardlessness of better models, in which the effect is gained not by grooved lines but by actual masses, as, for

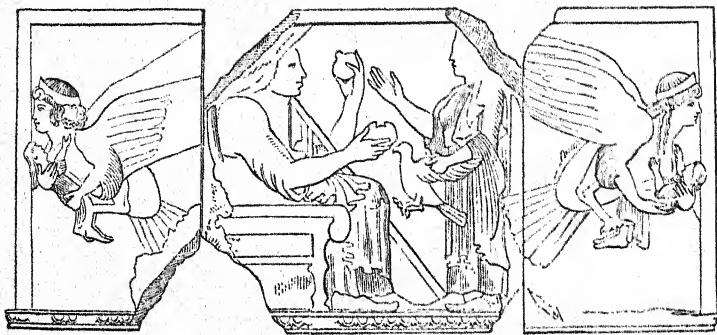


Fig. 25.—South side of Harpy-tomb.

example, in the Harpy-tomb, which stood at no great distance from Branchidæ on the Acropolis of Xanthos in Lycia, and in its reliefs displayed significantly that element of sensuousness supposed to have naturally been developed from local circumstances in the art of Asia Minor.

The reliefs<sup>1</sup> of the Harpy-tomb, now in the British

<sup>1</sup> Engraved by Sir Chas. Fellows in his *Discoveries in Lycia*, pl. 21, and, not to mention other instances, in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1855, pl. 73, with an elaborate article by E. Curtius on the signification of the reliefs, p. 1, to which subject he again recurs in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1868, p. 10, tracing to an Egyptian origin, with an accompanying illustration, the belief of immortality

which he finds represented in the Harpy tomb. But see Conze in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1869, p. 78; E. Braun in the *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1844, p. 133; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 37; and more lately, on the artistic style of the reliefs, Brunn, in the *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1870, p. 205. Again, in the *Berichte* just quoted, for Nov. 1872, Brunn took up the



SLAB OF HARPY TOMB.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[To face p. 118.]



Museum (Figs. 25-28), surmounted a high square column, and apparently served to enclose a tomb, an opening into which is left in one of the sides. The scenes are obviously of sepulchral import, but whether symbolic of a general religious belief or indicative of some such sentiment embodied in the shape of a special legend is a question on which it is difficult to reconcile opinions. On the latter view the Harpies which give a convenient name to the monument, and on two sides of it appear carrying off the souls of departed beings, now in diminutive forms, have been explained as carrying off the daughters of the Lycian hero Pandareos. According to the other view they appear merely as personifications of the rapacity of death, and it would be consistent with this if the other scenes represented only typical proceedings in the house of Hades, without perhaps any particular reference to the deceased person of the tomb. On the other hand, if these scenes are all in the lower world, it is inconceivable that some of the figures should be of diminished form, as customary in the ancient rendering of souls, while the rest have the aspect usual in life, unless it be that the latter were supposed to be restored to this form to appear before the judges as suppliants.

The side with the opening in it faced the west, and has been supposed to have formed the actual front of the monument, striking with its melancholy design the key-note of the whole representation. Facing each other sit two goddesses, always associated in the Greek mind with the fertile beauty and decay of Nature. On

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discussion of the meaning of the reliefs, rejecting the notion of their referring to death and future life, and endeavouring to prove that they represent various stages of life from youth to age, including, as was natural on a sepulchral

monument, a reference to death in the figures of the Harpies. His argument cannot be fairly described as convincing, while it detracts from the monument something of the poetic thought which other explanations see in it.



the left, Demeter, large in form and lonely; on the right her daughter Persephone, youthful in figure, and receiving the attention of three others of similar womanhood, who bring her rich fruits and flowers as tokens of the ripeness of Nature, which in person they also dis-

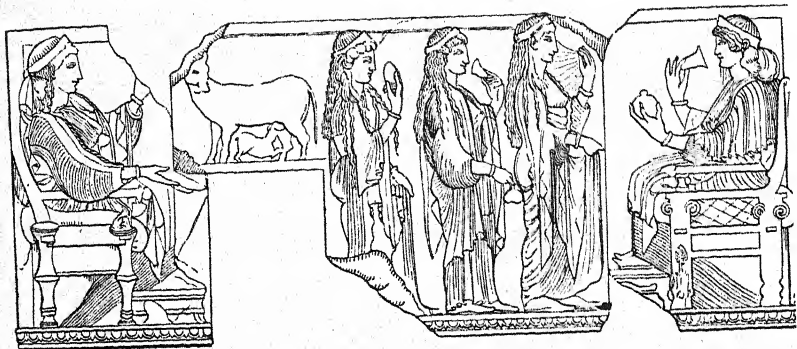


Fig. 26.—West side of Harpy-tomb.

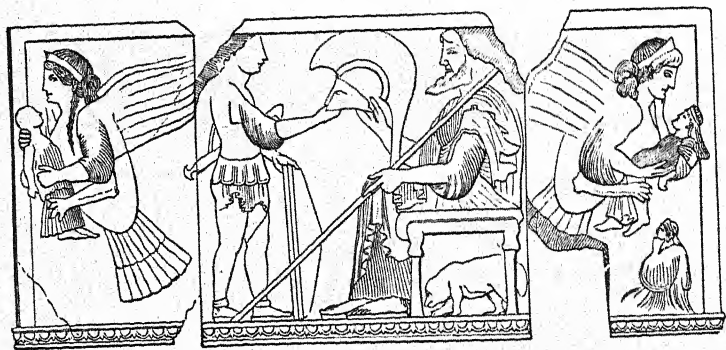


Fig. 27.—North Side of Harpy-tomb.

play. Above the opening is a scene calculated to carry the mind to fertile pasture lands—a cow suckling her calf, and thus altogether it will not be denied that this side of the tomb tells a simple and touching story. But here it should be observed that what is now an opening into the tomb appears on examination to have been originally filled in with a marble slab in the form of a stelè, to which the figure of a cow with her calf now

remaining, had served as a surmounting ornament or *episemon*, reminding us of the stelè at Athens surmounted by a bull. In front of this stelè on the Harpy-tomb the female figure seated on the left offers an oblation precisely in the manner of another female figure seated beside a stelè on the relief of a bronze mirror case in the British Museum. As regards the explanation here quoted of the figures on this side of the Harpy-tomb, it may be useful to recall the sculptured decorations on the altar or tomb of Hyakinthos

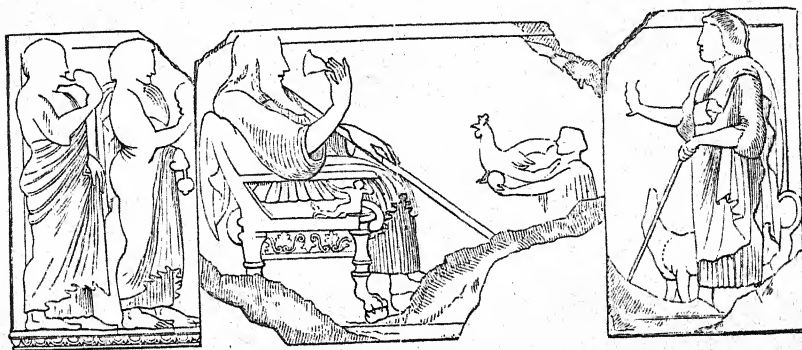


Fig. 28.—East Side of Harpy-tomb.

at Amyklæ, the work of Bathykles of Magnesia. The subjects had been chosen as being appropriate to a tomb of Hyakinthos. We have, Demeter, Persephone and Pluto, the Fates and Seasons who convey Hyakinthos to the skies; and again, we have Muses and Seasons.<sup>1</sup> On this analogy, the three standing figures on the Harpy-tomb (west side) may well be the three Graces, fully draped, as was usual in archaic art. We have already seen a combination of the Graces and Seasons on the throne which surrounded this tomb at Amyklæ. We have seen also that the Graces by Bupalos must have resembled closely the three figures here sculptured.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iii. 19. 4.

If that scene is to be the front which has the most direct connection between daily life and death, then perhaps the north side would be the most suitable, where a warrior lays aside his arms, handing his helmet to the seated judge of the dead, under whose throne sulks a bear, while on either side flies a Harpy on her fatal occupation. On the opposite or south side of the tomb are again these Harpies, flanking a scene in which, this time, a woman approaches with propitiatory gift a female judge, Persephone. This gift is called a dove, but a hen would be a better mate for the cock which, on the east side and often in sepulchral reliefs, is offered by a suppliant to the god of the lower world, whatever may be the motives, by which the offering is to be explained. Behind the suppliant, on the east side, comes a young man, with the dog of his daily rambles looking wistfully up at him. Behind the enthroned god two draped figures bring ripe fruits. On all sides is presented the contrast between the beauty of full growth and the sudden collapse of it in death. The bodies of the Harpies are egg-shaped, and an egg was one of the offerings to the deities of the lower world. Their breasts are full, as if there had been some womanly kindness in their grim functions.

Apart from the richness of the draperies, with their weight of innumerable fine folds, the pervading fulness of limb and the loose luxuriant tresses, there is strongly marked in most of the faces the sensuous expression already spoken of, and in figures which in one phase of their character represented the varied fertility of nature it was to be expected that such expression would find a prominent place.<sup>1</sup> Consistent with the archaic manner the eyes are sloping<sup>2</sup> and set to the side, not

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, the perfectly animal expression of the heads of Dionysos on the silver

coins of Naxos in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> It is conceivable that the sloping of the eyes, so constant in

in profile, and the heels are down on the ground. It is true of the seated deities generally, but specially so of the goddess on the south side, that the limbs are comparatively on a colossal scale for the sake of contrast with the mortals in their presence, and an effect of this, not successfully reckoned against, is that they have an oppressive squatness and heaviness, which, with other points of detail, some have regarded as evidence of the sculpture belonging to a late or decadent stage of the archaic manner; while others,<sup>1</sup> arguing that progress in this period took the direction of defining exactly and incisively all the details of the figure, conclude that these reliefs belong to an early stage, when this proceeding had not sensibly begun to operate, and that therefore they may be assigned to somewhere between B.C. 540-500. The dresses, consisting of a chiton of thin texture wrapped tightly round the limbs, and a mantle, or peplos, of thick cloth for outdoor wear, thrown with massive folds about the shoulders, are suggestive of ceremonial rather than of daily costume, and hence some allowance is to be made for the severe regularity which pervades most of them, inconsistently with study from reality. No doubt also the three figures approaching Persephone on the west side present little variety, but it is to be remembered that in Greek sculpture, and particularly in its early stages, the most exclusive restrictions were placed upon the artist as to the introduction of accessories or symbols. The ancient spectator, trained to appreciate these restrictions, would see meaning in numerous points which now escape

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early reliefs and vase paintings, and perpetuated in early sculptures in the round, may have originated less as a study of actual living types than from a desire to give to

a face in profile something of an expression of looking round to the front towards the spectator.

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1870, p. 219.



attention. On the ground of the reliefs were remains of blue colour, and in other parts traces of red at the time of their discovery,<sup>1</sup> and it may be taken that the whole design was liberally enriched with colours. The roof was square, forming on each side an entablature of three members, each projecting some distance beyond the other. Altogether, the monument may be compared with the tomb of Cyrus at Passargadæ.<sup>2</sup>

Illustrative of the archaic art of Xanthos, and deserving of study in immediate comparison with the Harpy-tomb are several reliefs brought to the British Museum at the same time by Sir Charles Fellows, and apparently also originally intended for the decoration of sepulchral monuments. First is a triangular slab of marble, with a fluted Ionic column in the centre, surmounted by a Harpy with wings spread and arms extended, still empty of their victim. Her body is altogether draped, and girt with a girdle. On the ground at each side of the column sit sadly two figures, their drapery and massive forms recalling the deities of the Harpy-tomb. The figure on the right is a man with long beard and sceptre or staff. Opposite to him the figure is that of a woman, also with a staff or sceptre. The type of face, the delicate treatment both of the drapery and of the nude forms, as in the arms and hands, and the sentiment of the design, are clearly of the same school of sculpture as that which produced the Harpy-tomb. Here also we may place the fragment (Fig. 29) with remains of two dancing figures executed with very great refinement and beauty.

Next may be introduced the slabs of a monument on which is sculptured a procession,<sup>3</sup> (pll. 3-5) consisting of

<sup>1</sup> Scharf, in the Museum of tomb of Cyrus by Fergusson, Classical Antiquities, i. p. 252. Nineveh and Persepolis, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> See engraving of the ruins at Passargadæ identified with the <sup>3</sup> Engraved in Prachov's Antiquissima Monumenta Xanthiaca,

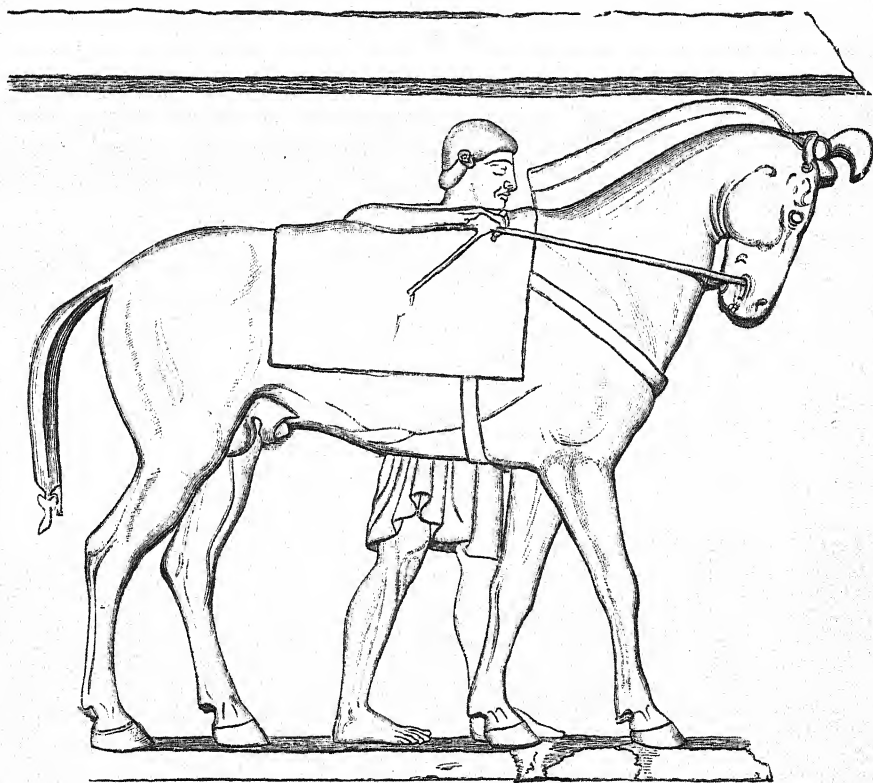


SLAB OF MARBLE FRIEZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM XANTHOS IN LYCIA.

[To face p. 124.





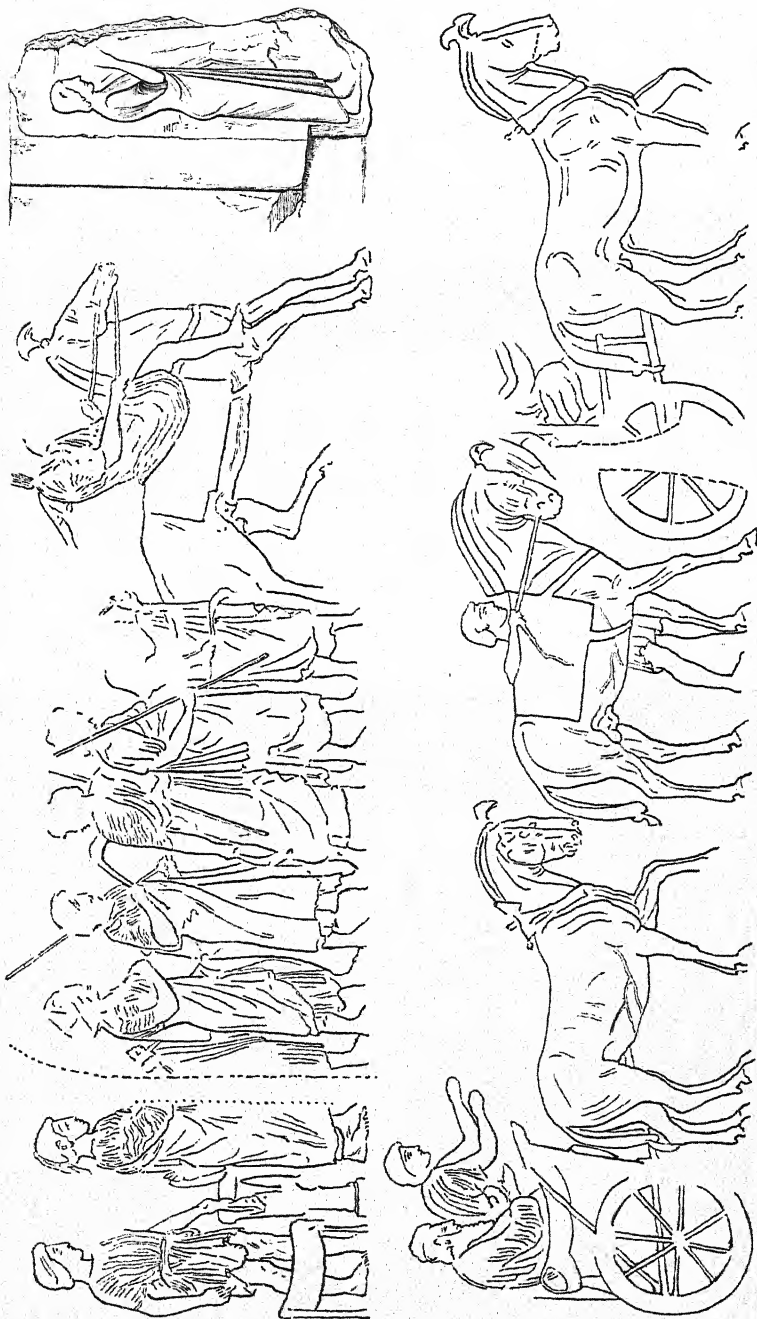
SLAB OF MARBLE FRIEZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM XANTHOS IN LYCIA.

*[To follow Plate III. immediately.]*







MARBLE FRIEZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM XANTHOS IN LYCIA.

[To follow Plate IV. immediately.]



a chariot with two horses, followed by a horseman at his horse's side, again a chariot with two horses, and again

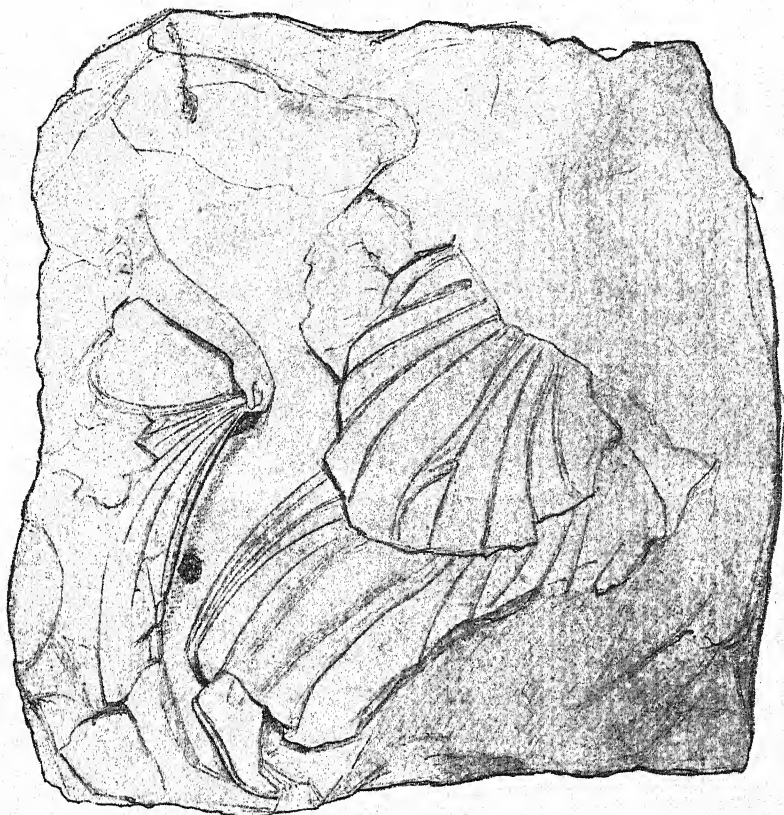


Fig. 29. —Marble relief—dancing figures from Xanthos. British Museum.

a horseman, this time mounted, preceding a group, so far as it exists, of five draped figures on foot. It is not certain that this was the original order, but from a frag-

pl. 3 and pl. 6B, fig. H. Engraved in a sketchy manner in Cesnola's *Cyprus*, pl. 16, with details on pl. 17. Some of the figures are also engraved by Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia*, pp. 173 and 177. I have here reproduced the

engraving of Cesnola, but have added new drawings from the best preserved groups, viz., one of the chariot groups, and a horseman. Among the figures one is added to the engraving in Cesnola's work.



ment not yet mentioned, with two figures standing at the foot of a bier, which is broken off so as to leave only the feet of the occupant visible, it is clear that the whole ceremony was of a sepulchral nature. Another fragment retains one draped figure on foot. As regards the human figures, their dress, forms, attitudes and types, little is to be said, except to class them directly with the sculpture of the Harpy-tomb. But in the horses there is a characteristic element in the form and in the trappings nothing less than identical with certain fragmentary reliefs of horses from Persepolis in the British Museum. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that at the time in question not only was Lycia a province of Persia, but the Persian kings were successively erecting in the seat of their empire palaces of ambitious design, which must have developed an activity of sculpture likely to extend most of all to a half-Greek dependancy such as Lycia. But although in this way a necessarily intimate contact with Persia well accounts for these horses and doubtless also for much of the sensuousness and rich draperies of the archaic reliefs of Lycia, with much else in the matter of architecture, it is still true that what is most attractive throughout these works is essentially and inalienably Greek.<sup>1</sup>

Without leaving Lycia, with its obvious connection between Persia on the one hand and Greece on the other, attention may further be drawn to the broad

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<sup>1</sup> While admitting to the full the wide gulf between the pure art of Greece and that of Assyria, Fergusson (Nineveh and Persepolis, p. 340) maintains as indisputable that "all that is Ionic in the arts of Greece is derived from the

valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates." But it should be understood that he here means that the seed was so derived which in Greek soil bore, not a generically, but a specifically different fruit.

marble frieze with reliefs,<sup>1</sup> exhibiting, besides other animals of the chase, a group of a lion attacking a stag, in which not only the subject itself but the manner of rendering it is justly to be traced to an Assyrian or Persian model. Yet the art is not Oriental; still less so the two Satyrs introduced into the composition. They are Greek in creation and in execution, and, indeed, in contrast with the generally careful realism in the sculpture of wild animals in Assyrian art, the animals on this frieze, excepting the lion and stag, are far from faithful to nature. Of a coarser realism are the lions, on a grey marble tomb,<sup>2</sup> also from Xanthos. But while the animals are in high relief and gross of form and sentiment, on each side of the tomb is a narrow frieze, with low flat relief, indicating in the proportions, attitudes and costumes of the figures an exceedingly early condition of sculpture, in which the natural powers of the artist were attended with the greater impulse when directed to animals. On one side is a man killing a lion as a matter of form, not at all as a realization of the fact. On the other are a mounted horseman, and turned away from him a foot soldier, with a huge shield and enormous crest.

Fantastic animals, such as harpies and sphinxes, appear to have been imported into Greek art originally from Egypt, without, perhaps, any very nice distinction being made between them beyond their general character as representatives of death, and hence among the

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved by Prachov in his *Ant. Mon. Xanthiaca*, pls. 6A, 6B. Very similar to the group of the lion attacking a stag is the design on a crystal scaraboid in the British Museum, or in a ruder form on the coins of Tarsus and of

Citium in Cyprus. More advanced is the same group on coins of Velia.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved very sketchily in Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia*, pl. 22, p. 176; one side of it in Prachov, *Ant. Mon. Xanth.*, pl. 1, fig. 1.

archaic reliefs from Xanthos are several sphinxes<sup>1</sup> occupying places on tombs which equally may have been assigned to harpies, so far as modern knowledge goes. With great refinement in modelling the animal forms, there is yet in each of these sphinxes a solemnity and stateliness which, together with the ideal type strongly expressed in their heads, suggest that phase of art which afterwards culminated in the frieze of the Parthenon, and this applies also to the archaic sphinxes<sup>2</sup> found in Cyprus, an island at no distance from Lycia, and in its early associations constantly involved with Egypt, Assyria, or Persia. Singularly also there comes from Cyprus a marble sarcophagus,<sup>3</sup> on which is sculptured a procession of chariots, horsemen and attendants on foot, strikingly recalling the procession already described from Xanthos, not only in the artistic composition and effect, but also in the forms and trappings of the horses. An attendant holding a parasol above the figure in one of the chariots, renders certain the Persian origin of the design, which otherwise would have been reasonably inferred from the horses. Yet here again the main spirit is Greek; not, however, so

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved by Prachov, *Ant. Mon. Xanthiaca*, pls. 4-5, with great truthfulness to style. One of them, with the remains of colour indicated, red on diadem and red and blue on wings, is given by Scharf in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. p. 251, in an essay on the Polychromy of Ancient Sculpture, following a similar essay on the subject by Semper, with a more elaborate treatment.

<sup>2</sup> Four sphinxes sculptured in the round occur on the lid of a sarcophagus from Amathus, en-

graved in Cesnola, Cyprus, p. 267, while two groups in relief, each of a pair of sphinxes, were found by him on sepulchral stelæ, at Golgoi, engraved p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Engraved, Cesnola, Cyprus, pls. 14-15. The sculpture on the two ends is of a distinctly Phœnician character. On the one is a nude figure of Astarte repeated four times in a row in the manner familiar in Egyptian monuments, while on the other end is the male figure called Bes, similarly repeated four times.

sovereign in its sway as in another marble sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> from Golgoi in Cyprus, where the reliefs present every refinement of archaic sculpture. On one end is a chariot, which compares admirably with the other sarcophagus and with the frieze from Xanthos. But while it seems to indicate an incident of ordinary life, on the opposite end is a purely legendary scene in which Perseus, having cut off Medusa's head and placed it in his wallet, hastens away with a large stride. From the neck of the Gorgon spring Chrysaor and the winged-horse, Pegasus. The four wings of Medusa and her kneeling position are characteristic of her speed. The dog sitting looking on has not usually any part in the legend, and it is difficult to account for its presence, unless from its appropriateness on a funeral monument. On the front are two groups of warriors hunting a Carian bull and a wild boar, each pair of armed men being confronted, and leaning towards each other like the figures on the Ægina pediments, while in the one case the bull and in the other the boar corresponds with the dead hero in these compositions. It would not be expected, though it is defensible from other instances, to find heroes heavily armed with cuirass, helmet, shield and greaves for the purpose of the chase, and though the deer and the horse, which are seen quietly grazing, might be reasonably introduced in a scene with a wild boar and bull, yet this could not be maintained of the cock which stands between two of the figures. He however, as has been shown, is constantly associated with sepulchral incidents. That the chase is in a forest is indicated by three trees placed at a distance from each

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved, Cesnola, Cyprus, pl. 10. Comapre Rev. Archéologique, 1875, pl. 2.



other, and so arranged as to divide and vary the whole scene. Curiously the tree on the left extremity has no companion on the right. But on passing from this point to the back of the sarcophagus it will be observed that the scene begins with a half-tree vertically cut. The banquet here proceeding to the music of a lyre and a double flute may be the eternal banquet of the blessed, such as occurs in works of early Etruscan art.<sup>1</sup> The fresh originality which pervades these reliefs, with all their delicacy and elaborateness of detail affords an agreeable contrast to the general character of affected archaism in the sculptures of Cyprus.

It might be thought from modern experience that this series of sculptures from Lycia and Cyprus being in the nature of sepulchral monuments, must have been the work of indifferent artists. On the other hand, the Lycians of Xanthos are known to have erected these tombs on the acropolis of their city, and by assigning them this place of honour it is to be inferred that the task of executing the sculptures was not beneath the reputation of the greatest sculptors of the time and place. And again, when it is remembered that in this corner of Asia Minor there afterwards arose a monument built over the tomb of Mausolos—the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, as it is called—which attracted the greatest sculptors of Greece to complete it; there is every reason to suppose that ideas had long prevailed in the district, lending an importance to such works which elsewhere in Greece they did not possess. Besides, in an archaic period when imaginative art

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<sup>1</sup> Compare banquet on back of sarcophagus from Cervetri in the British Museum; engraved, *Encycl. Brit.* 9th ed. art. "Etruria." Compare similar banquet on two vases

from Cervetri, the one in the British Museum and the other in the Louvre; engraved in Longperier, *Musée Napoleon III.*, pl. 71.

was still mainly subservient to practical purposes, and when its true function of realizing what is invisible may be employed in rendering imaginary scenes in the new world of those who have just passed away, perhaps with more effect than in representing purely mythical or legendary incidents, sculptors would naturally turn to the decoration of honorary monuments. But in point of fact, such reliefs as those of the Harpy-tomb and the chariot frieze from Xanthos, or the two sarcophagi from Cyprus, need no apology when compared with the existing archaic sculptures from temples, whether for this purpose the older metopes of Selinus be taken or the frieze and metopes from Assos in the Troad.

The study of archaic sculpture in relief, such as it was practised in Asia Minor, is not complete till we have noticed certain examples from Northern Greece.<sup>1</sup> In early times there was abundance of intercourse between these districts, and in these early times it was in Asia Minor that art lifted her head highest. She developed painting, and above all, she discovered the resources of metal for artistic purposes. In Northern Greece there may have been no inclination for the display of colour, but metal working was, so to speak, the daily bread of the people. Therefore there is no

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Berichte*, 1876, p. 325, speaking of the coins, points out the details which show the influence of Asia, excessive breadth in the general type, and decorative treatment not only of the hair, but also of anatomical details. Again, p. 330, speaking of the relief from Pharsalos in the Louvre, he traces its decorative treatment to an origin in Asia Minor, adding that the northern artists had remained

quietly in the possession of the traditions they had received (from Asia Minor), while in Greece proper all were striving for progress. Yet on p. 334 he says expressly that Northern Greece has the merit of having introduced a new element into the art of sculpture. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. rejects the theory of a school of Northern Greece.

natural impediment to the view that the early art of Northern Greece was but an extension of the art of Asia Minor. How far this view is confirmed or reversed must be judged by existing remains.

In the first place the peculiarities of style in the sculpture of Northern Greece are attested, apart from the coins, mainly by two marble reliefs in the Louvre, the one being the upper part of a funeral stelè, found at Pharsalos, and representing two female figures standing, face to face (Fig. 30); the other a stelè, with a female figure, called Philis, sitting in profile to the right, from Thasos.<sup>1</sup> As regards Philis, nothing could be more complete than the identity of her full lips and prominent eyes with those of the figures on the Harpy-tomb from Lycia, nor anything more satisfactory than the way in which, in both sculptures, these features suggest the richness and ripeness of nature in Asia Minor. But in Philis all the features are larger and finer in style, while in the drapery not only is every fold clear and expressive, but even in such places as the turn of the mantle behind her neck or in the folds above her breast there is a successful effort to produce an effect of fascination. In her hair there is this peculiarity that the ends which escape behind are modelled freely in masses, while in the fine ringlets arranged over her brow and temples is preserved a scheme of spiral ornament, recalling, except for its exquisite delicacy, the archaic treatment of hair. In her face also an archaic expression is conveyed, distinctly at variance with her attitude, her large full form, and her drapery. She must, therefore, be assigned to a period of transition, probably in the time when Thasos came under Athenian influence.

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<sup>1</sup> The Pharsalos relief is published by Heuzey, *Mission en Macédoine*, pl. 23, and the Thasos relief in the *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1872, pl. L.

The attitude, the forms, and the drapery are alike suggestive of Athens. The art is undoubtedly that of a master.

In the relief from Pharsalos (Fig. 30) there is a striking identity with the Harpy-tomb, and with the early sculptures of Asia Minor so far as they are known, in the form of the eyes, lips, and nose; but the type of face is not so fine as that of Philis. Yet the forms are large and soft as with her; the drapery, too, is simple in



Fig. 30.—Marble relief, in the Louvre. From Pharsalos.

its main lines, and strongly suggestive of Attic influence. The ribbons or bands wound thrice round the head have been pointed to as in a measure realizing the habit of Polygnotos to adorn the heads of his figures with bright coloured bands, and whether that be so or not, it is undeniable that both here and in the Philis relief there is observable a decided pictorial influence, even after allowing for the fact that sculptured stelæ of this kind were in early times more or less helped out



with colour, and on that account were likely to adopt as far as possible the traditions of painting, not without harm, as may be seen from several instances of what from the point of view of sculpture can only be called contortions.<sup>1</sup> As regards the drapery in both reliefs, it is not intended in describing it as Attic in character, to convey the meaning that its breadth of treatment may not have been inspired by the example of a more advanced style in painting. What is meant rather is that such a treatment does not owe its origin to the imitation of any strictly technical proceeding in the art of painting, and it was necessary to call attention to this because an important feature in the Harpy-tomb, as representing the sculpture of Asia Minor, and in another well-known monument from Thasos (Fig. 31), is the rendering of the drapery by means of parallel wavy lines, running vertically and only very slightly cut, as if in direct imitation of a painter who draws in the shadows with his brush without modelling. Take, for example, an archaic painted vase from Kameiros in Rhodes, with the figure of a bull, and it will be seen that the neck of the bull is rendered by a series of wavy lines to give the effect of shadows. The same effect precisely is produced on the necks of the bulls on the silver coins of the Edoni, where the shadows are obtained by incised wavy lines. So also in the more advanced vases, and doubtless, in the painting of Polygnotos himself, the rendering of shadows in fine material by means of wavy lines presented a strong temptation to indolent or incapable sculptors to imitate so simple a method. No doubt this is a feature to be found in archaic sculpture elsewhere. So well, indeed, was it known in the later ages of imitation,

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad.* 1876, p. 328, and for the instances of contortion, p. 329. He gives here a detailed examination of these two reliefs.

that in what are called archaistic sculptures it is always conspicuous beyond measure. Yet the fact remains that in the Harpy-tomb and in the Thasos sculptures here referred to, it is present in a high degree.

What the monument here in question (Fig. 31) may



Fig. 31.—Marble Reliefs, in the Louvre. From Thasos.

have been is unknown, unless it may have served the same purpose as the Harpy-tomb, with which it has already been compared.<sup>1</sup> First there is a long slab with an imi-

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Revue Arch.* 1865, pl. 24-25, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 152. Overbeck, p. 154, points out the unmistakeable similarity of the figures

of the Harpy-tomb with those of the Thasos monument, but notes also that on the other hand the sculptures of the Harpy-tomb have affinities with Athenian art.

tation doorway in the centre, recalling the real opening in the Harpy-tomb, and having on each side reliefs. On the left is a Citharist in the act of being crowned by a female figure behind him. On the right three female figures advancing, bringing him more decorations. On another slab are three more female figures, still carrying presents, and on a third is Hermes advancing with outstretched hand and followed by a female figure. The Citharist may be Apollo, and the nine female figures may be Nymphs and Graces, to whom, according to the inscription, the monument is dedicated. Most of the figures have worn wreaths of metal, the bronze pins for attaching them being still in the marble. Traces of colour in the chlamys of Hermes show also that this element has been employed, perhaps largely. Yet for sculpture of such extraordinary delicacy it is hard to see how colour could have been added with effect, unless in subordinate details. The drapery is exceedingly rich in most carefully studied folds, considerably finer than in the Harpy-tomb. The figures also are taller and lithier. There is more variety in the composition, and, indeed, the female figure crowning Apollo may be selected as in reality one of the most beautiful motives in Greek sculpture. It should be noticed that with her the sculptor has forgotten the tradition observable in his other figures, that the heels must all be firm on the ground. Her right heel is raised. Another of the female figures shows markedly the treatment of drapery by fine wavy lines to which reference has been made. The beard of Hermes is identical with the beard of Hades in the Harpy-tomb; the attitudes of the female figures, and to some extent, the gifts they bring, are also the same. The large himation of Apollo has the fringed edge characteristic of this garment in the sculptures of the Parthenon.

It is in the nature of things that in early art sculpture

in relief and painting should largely present the same effects. Artists in both kinds began with a plain flat surface, and in carrying out their designs they necessarily utilised this flat surface as far as was allowable. For example, in the treatment of drapery they preserved as much of flat surface as they dared, and endeavoured to hide the unreality of the proceeding by exquisite schemes of folds. For sculptors in the round no such temptation existed—they worked into their material, not along its surface, and when they had sufficiently advanced their art, it was necessary for sculptors in relief to abandon their former habit, and to relegate the flat surface on which they began to the mere background of their work. Thus it happens that when there is nothing but reliefs to judge by, it is extremely hazardous to found on them a theory of a local school of sculpture, and this is the case with the theory of a school of Northern Greece.<sup>1</sup> More can hardly be said than that the sculptures from that region exhibit a strong pictorial influence, which they share in common with those of Asia Minor, and that this effect was probably due to the more cultivated practice of painting than of sculpture at the time in Asia Minor as compared with the preponderance of sculpture over painting in Greece itself during the same period.

It would almost seem from our studies of Greek

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<sup>1</sup> The people of Pharsalos were, says Athenæus, xii. c. 6. 33, the most idle and luxurious of men. He adds: "The Thessalians were confessed to be of all Greeks the most luxurious both in food and in dress: and this was the reason of their leading the Persians against Greece." Again, Athenæus (x. c. 4. 12) speaks of the Thessalians as *polyphagi*, and appears to include the Thasians (x. c. 1. 4)

by quoting Theagenes, the athlete of that island, who ate a whole ox. He cites also a line from Aristophanes, in which Lydian and Thessalian banquets are classed together for their luxury. Thus there was clearly a strong association of manners and customs between these northern Greeks and their kinsmen in Asia Minor, such an association as would bring with it a community of artistic taste.



sculpture up to now that the one place to be avoided was Greece itself, or at least Athens. But Athens, though possibly late in the field as a centre of sculpture, and certainly late in yielding from among her ruins conspicuous examples of archaic sculpture in relief, has of late years repaid this tardiness, in particular by certain reliefs executed in porous stone which had decorated two pediments of two different buildings on

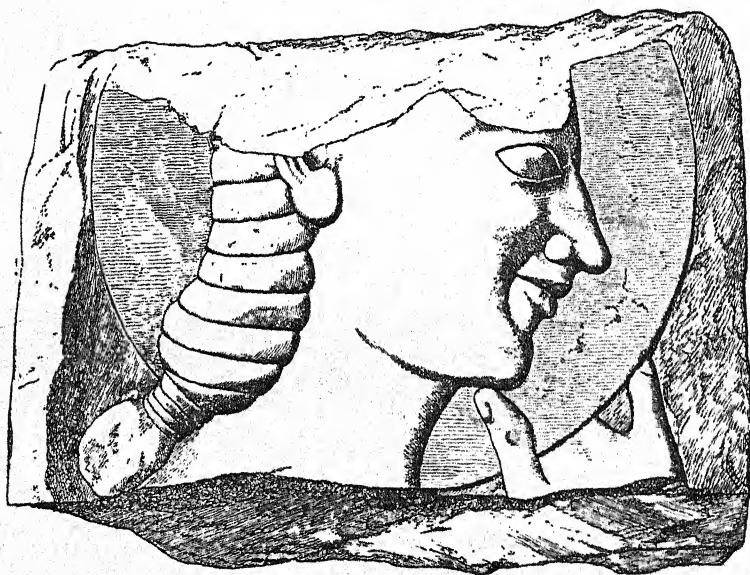


Fig. 32.—Relief on upper part of a marble stele at Athens.

the Acropolis, possibly two small temples. The bright staring colours with which these reliefs are enriched prepare us for a phase of sculpture in which the loss of refined modelling of details, afterwards so characteristic of Athenian art, had not yet arisen. There is coarseness everywhere. And yet there is in the composition at times a sense of contemporaneity with a finer and better art, such as that of vase painting. At all events it is with the vase painting of about B.C. 600,



Fig. 33.—Warrior of Ikaria.



Fig. 34.—Stelè of Aristokles—Athens.

or a little earlier, that we can best compare these sculptures.

For the sake of a contrast, but still within archaic

limits, we may take the fragment of a stelè in Athens (Fig. 32), representing the head apparently of a disk thrower. There we have refinement of a kind, every feature being clean cut and carefully rendered according to the best taste of the time. From this fragment to the stelè of Aristokles (Fig. 34) is a distinct step in advance.

As regards Aristokles it was a fortunate circumstance which in 1832 brought to light at Velanideza in Attica a marble stelè sculptured in low relief with the figure of an armed warrior, and bearing the name of this artist (Fig. 34).<sup>1</sup> The original colours have been largely preserved, red on the ground of the relief, on the drapery, and on the end of the shoulder strap. The armour was of a bronze or blue tint, having the decorative patterns picked out in other colours that are now vanished; on the hair were remains of a dark colour; the flesh was not painted; the crest of the helmet seems to have been added in metal. On the question of colour it is to be remarked that recent investigation has shown it to have been a not uncommon practice during the archaic period in Attica to decorate marble stelæ of this description with representations of the deceased persons entirely in colours, and an exquisite

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved with a reproduction of the colours of the original in the Museum of Class. Antiq. i. p. 252. See also Laborde, *Le Parthénon*, i. pl. 7, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 140, who adheres to the opinion that Aristion is the name of the person represented. The inscription immediately beneath the relief reads, ΕΡΑΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ, and is continued on the plinth in larger letters, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝΟΣ. But this

separation may be a mere necessity of space, and besides, had "Aristion" referred to the person of the relief it would surely have come first. It is true that in another inscribed base found in Attica, with letters of the same character, a sculptor Aristokles occurs without mention of his father's name; but that proves nothing either way. See Loewy, *Inscripfen Griech. Bildhauer*, no. 10, and Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 355-356.

example of this is the stelè of Lyseas,<sup>1</sup> lately restored to nearly its original beauty. It was not, however, an exclusively archaic practice, as may be seen from the marble slab in Naples painted with a group of the Niobides,<sup>2</sup> by an Athenian artist, Alexandros, of a comparatively late period, and for this reason it cannot be said that the stelè of Aristokles, because less archaic than that of Lyseas, presents a transition from painting to relief. What it does present is a combination of these two processes, and in this combination the pictorial element, being at its best when rendering delicate and minutely circumscribed details, has distinctly influenced the sculptured element in this direction also, though perhaps not to the degree that would be expected. The right hand and wrist, for example, have received less attention in modelling than they deserved. But the face and hair are very careful, and the toes long, with the bones studiously rendered. The whole figure conveys an impression of delicacy in detail rather than of force in the conception; and yet it is in form large and massive, as of a time when the high ideal was being approached or prepared for. On the other hand the attitude, with the heels close to the ground, and the one leg before the other for no other purpose than that both may be seen, the folds of the drapery, the eye placed to the side, and the form of the beard, are all signs of a traditional archaic manner.<sup>3</sup> For the sake of comparison, or rather to accentuate the artistic character of the stelè of Aristokles, we give also (Fig. 33) the stelè of a warrior recently found at Ikaria by the American school at Athens.

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<sup>1</sup> Loeschcke, *Mittheilungen d. Arch. Inst. Athen.*, iv. pl. 1. Cf. Kekulé, *Bildwerke im Theseion*, no. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 2392, and engraved in the *Antich. d'Ercolano* I. pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 26.



As a son and pupil of Aristokles, possibly the Athenian artist of this name just spoken of, is mentioned Kleoitas,<sup>1</sup> who is praised on the one hand for the



Fig. 35.—Marble relief. Female figure stepping into chariot. In the Acropolis Museum, Athens.

mechanical ingenuity of the fence made by him for the Hippodrome at Olympia, and on the other for a figure of a warrior at Athens, as to which Pausanias remarks, that those should see it who prefer the advanced to the

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 107; nos. 1031–1033, and *Gr. Plastik*, but Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, 2nd ed. p. 364, places both in Elis.

archaic sculpture. The nails, he adds—apparently meaning those of the toes and fingers—were inlaid with silver, a proceeding which in itself shows the work to have been of an archaic order, if not, indeed, actually recalling the warrior of Aristokles with his metal plume. At Olympia Kleoitias made a group of Zeus and Ganymedes.

Of a higher order of art than the stelè of Aristokles are the fragmentary reliefs which it is supposed had belonged to the metopes of the Hecatompedon, as the temple was called, which after the Persian occupation of the Acropolis had to be rebuilt under the grander form and the new name of the Parthenon. Of these fragments the principal one represents a draped female figure stepping into a chariot (Fig. 35).<sup>1</sup> The folds of the drapery are artificial in a high degree, and studied more for decorative effect than from reality, with this difference, that in the chiton or under garment the archaic thin material and fine folds are given by wavy lines, while in the upper himation the thicker material is more strikingly defective from the flatness of the folds. The chariot is large, and perhaps more in proportion than in later sculptures, where accessories of this kind are as far as possible repressed. But in the attitude and in the forms ancient restraint has been flung aside, and a new spirit allowed full sway. The tails of the horses are rendered on the system of close wavy lines, which, again, is to be seen in a delicate piece of relief representing the upper part of Hermes, or a herald, in the museum in the Acropolis of Athens. We may complete this study of archaic sculpture in relief with the bronze figure of Athene (Fig. 36), found

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<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 142; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 25.



Fig. 36.—Athene—relief in bronze—Athens.

on the Acropolis, the beauty of which is such as to suggest that it was in contemplation of sculpture of this large and yet refined manner that Pheidias grew up and developed his unapproached mastery of largeness of style combined with true observation of nature. So beautiful a piece of work would deserve a long description if indeed a long description would add emphasis to the simple words, "unapproached largeness of style combined with truth."



## CHAPTER VI.

Archaic statuary—from Delos, Samos, Acropolis of Athens—Antenor—  
Group of Tyrannicides—Onatas—Hermes carrying calf—bronze  
head.

WE have been led to give precedence so far to sculpture in relief over sculpture in the round, because of the greater abundance of literary records and actual remains in the one case than in the other. It is not denied that the sculpture of individual figures had been practised in Greece from the very beginnings of the art. Figures rudely executed in marble have been found in tombs in the Greek islands, with pottery of the most primitive class. But these early efforts of art differ very little from sculpture in relief. They have, it is true, a back view as well as a front view. For the rest they are reliefs. If we turn to the literary records concerning the oldest sculpture as represented by Daedalos we find him, no doubt, accredited with statues so life-like, that they seemed ready to run or move. But from the reference to him in Homer, he must have worked also in relief. The probability is that the only statues associated with his name partook largely of the form of figures which presented the aspect of a relief.

Nor was anything more likely. In sculpture the Greeks had been preceded by the Assyrians, with their long rows of reliefs and with hardly any sculpture in the round worthy of the name. The Egyptians had from time immemorial recognised, that in an atmosphere without moisture, such as theirs, the best form of

artistic representation was a strong clear outline, and accordingly they had excelled in a species of relief, in which the contours of the figures were the chief element. It was useless to elaborate the details of anatomy, for an atmosphere where they could only be seen on close inspection, and could not adequately contribute to the first impression. Such was the condition of sculpture when the Greeks came upon the scene. Their climate with its unequalled atmosphere, opened the way to new possibilities. But time and patient observation were needed. The influence of Egypt, Assyria and Phœnicia, was mainly towards relief, and undoubtedly sculpture in relief was admirably suited to the Greek atmosphere also. Against the prejudices acquired from these quarters, the native genius of the Greeks had to fight slowly to secure those changes and modifications which their own instincts were forcing upon them; and the fight was doubtless all the more stubborn because of the knowledge that it was from these older centres of bas-relief that the original impulse, not to say the elements of technical skill, had been obtained.

The oldest existing specimens of Greek statuary justify these remarks. Take for example the marble statue<sup>1</sup> found in Delos with the dedication of a lady named Nikandra. It is little more than a relief, and may be accepted as an illustration of those primitive figures which the Greeks, struck by their flatness, compared to a board or *bretas*. So far as the art is concerned, a statue of this type might be assigned to any primitive age, no matter how many centuries B.C. Fortunately, however, there is an inscription incised on it which, from the forms of the letters, is not older than the second half of the 7th century B.C., and with this date the sculpture must agree. It is possible that

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<sup>1</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hellén. III., pl. 1, p. 4.

sculpture of precisely this kind may have gone on for centuries before in Greece. But meantime we have this statue as a witness, that towards the end of the 7th century B.C., sculpture had not advanced beyond a certain point. A statue set up in Delos, as was this, would represent at least the average artistic skill of the time, if not the best.

A slight advance is to be seen in the marble statue of Hera from Samos, now in the Louvre,<sup>1</sup> if in no other direction at least in the attempt to indicate the folds of drapery. We have already heard of Samos as the residence of the sculptors Theodoros and Rhoekos, and though there is confusion in the records concerning them in point of date, it may be taken that they were not much anterior to 600 B.C. And yet we are told<sup>2</sup> of a statue at Ephesus by Rhoekos, which looked older and ruder than one which was said to have been carried off among the spoils of Troy. These words indicate just such a figure as we find in the marble statue from Samos now under consideration. Rhoekos though principally a sculptor was also an architect. He was the first architect of the Temple of Hera at Samos, and there may not be much margin of error if we ascribe the statue to his time.

One statue of this type may seem enough to illustrate the particular stage of sculpture to which it belongs, and when we find it on the Acropolis of Athens (Fig. 37), it becomes necessary to consider whether we have here to do with a general phase of art common to the whole of Greece or with a particular school, resident in Samos<sup>3</sup> or elsewhere, which created

<sup>1</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hellén, IV., pl. 14. Samos has been found on the Acropolis of Athens, and is published, Ephemer. Arch., 1888, pl.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, x. 38. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A marble statue still more resembling in style the Hera of 6, p. 109.

this class of statues, and either directly or by means of pupils spread them among the Greeks. Literary records in dealing with this early period, constantly speak of particular schools of sculpture. They impress us with the sense of an artistic activity proceeding from this or that centre, in Crete, in Samos, in Athens, in Aegina,



Fig. 37.—Upper part of marble statue—Acropolis of Athens.

in Sikyon. Besides, the inscriptions found recently on the Acropolis of Athens, tell us plainly that the Athenians in times before the Persian wars had obtained for their Acropolis statues by men of distant and diverse schools. Under these circumstances it is at least possible that the statue in question found on the Acropolis of Athens was the work of a sculptor resi-



dent elsewhere than in Athens, perhaps in Samos or Delos.

Among the schools of early sculpture mentioned in the literary records that of Chios was famed as the first to have excelled in marble sculpture. For several generations the art was handed down from father to son. The genealogy runs: Melas, Mikkiades, Archermos, and Bupalos and Athenis, sons of Archermos. We know from an inscribed pedestal on the Acropolis of Athens, that a statue by Archermos had been found there, and so far this may be taken as proof of the general intercourse that existed in artistic matters. The Athenians would invite whoever was most famous at the time to send them one of his works. But apart from theory we know something of this school of Chios, and its famed sculpture in marble. Bupalos and Athenis, the last of the line,<sup>1</sup> were contemporaries of the poet Hipponax (about B.C. 540), and owe a certain notoriety to having made a portrait of him so true in its ugliness as to have amused all but the poet, who in his vexation retorted in some verses on the sculptors, so biting as to cause them, it was said, to hang themselves! Pliny naturally did not believe the tale, and as proof that they had survived, he pointed to works by them in other islands, as for instance in Delos. This perhaps concedes that they had left their native Chios while the verses which they are said to have inscribed on their sculptures, show that they had not forgotten it. These verses conveyed the information that Chios was not so famous for its vines as for the works of the sons of Archermos. It might thus be thought that the habit of versifying had not been lost on them, but this was a

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 11. See also concerning the adventure with Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Hipponax. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 39.

habit which, however it may have arisen, was common to early Greek artists. Failing any accredited work from the hands of Bupalos or Athenis, we have in dealing with the archaic reliefs from Ephesus, suggested a possible connection between them and Bupalos. These



Fig. 38.—Nike of Archermos.

sculptures belong to his time, and it is known that he worked in the neighbourhood of Ephesus.

The finding in Delos of a marble statue by Archermos (Fig. 38)—the Nike now in Athens—enables us to trace

the family talent back one generation, if not more. In the inscription on the base of the statue, we have not only the name of Archermos but also that of his father Mikkiades. Owing to the fragmentary state of part of the inscription, it is impossible to be quite sure whether or not Mikkiades had had a hand in the sculpture. But the probability is that he was joint sculptor, in which case we may be allowed to conclude that Archermos was still a young man when he made this statue with his father. The work of his riper years would be much more advanced. As regards Melas the father of Mikkiades, and founder of the Chian school, we have as yet no indication of his style. For the present we can only guess that it must have been something between Fig. 37 and another statue on the Acropolis, which has been frequently published.<sup>1</sup> The latter with its vivid colours and strong vitality in the face may seem much too far advanced for the grandfather of Archermos. But the *bretas* like form of the body would be suitable enough.

The statue of Nike<sup>2</sup> by Archermos, found in Delos and now in Athens, represents her as moving sideways, but with the face and upper part of the body turned to the

<sup>1</sup> Ant. Denkmäler, I., pl. 19.

by M. Six (Mittheilungen, d. Inst.

<sup>2</sup> For the inscription on the base of the Nike, see Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, p. 3, no. 1. Since then new readings have been proposed

in Athen, xiii. p. 142), and by M. Lolling (Ephemer. Arch. 1888, p. 71), who reads,

Μικκιά[δης τόδ' ἄγαλ]μα καλὸ[ν μ' ἀνέθηκε καὶ υἱὸς  
Ἀρχερμῶς (σ)ο(φ)ίησιν Ἐκθεό[λῳ ἐκτελέσαντες  
Οἱ Χίοι, Μέλανος πατρώϊον ἄσ[τυ νέμοντες.

M. Six proposes to read :—

Μικκιά[δης τόδ' ἄγαλ]μα καλὸ[ν πεπεωνὸν ἔτευξεν  
Ἀρχέρμου σο[φ]ίησιν Ἐκθεό[λῳ αὐτ' ἀνέθηκαν  
Οἱ Χίοι Μέ[λαν]ος πατρώϊον ἄσ[τυ νέμοντες.

Brunn, Berichte, d. Bayer. Akad. from Delos and the archaic Here  
1884, p. 508, discusses the Nike from Samos. He compares the

front. The workmanship is delicate and refined, but for the most part the delicacy and refinement are limited by formality and conventionalism, as may best be seen by the treatment of the hair with its fine formal curls. Doubtless it was the fashion then for ladies to wear their hair in some such artificial arrangement; but still it is possible for an artist to render artificial fashions of that kind in an artistically free manner if it is in his power to work with freedom at all. It is not, however, only in the hair, but also in the movement and drapery of the Victory that we see the formal restraint under which the sculptors were labouring. In particular, it is to be noted that in the movement of the Victory, which is to the left with the right leg advanced, the left leg comes forward so as to form a nearer plane, and gives the statue the aspect as of a relief with two planes. The drapery is treated in the manner of a relief, and indeed the general attitude of the figure, presenting its greatest surface full to the front and as flat as possible, retains much of the appearance of an archaic relief.<sup>1</sup> It was said of Archermos that he had been the first to give Victory wings, or at least that he had been the first to represent her in the act of flying through the air, as she is meant to be represented in the Delos statue. But whether this was so or not, we have in this statue an example of sculpture in marble from the hands of the men who first brought this branch

head of the Nike with sculpture of the Peloponnesian school in contrast to the Branchidæ statues with their rounded and full forms. See also R. Schœll in the *Aufsätze zum Geburtstage E. Curtius*, p. 121. See also the fragment of another columnar base of statue found on the Acropolis and inscribed "Α]ρχερμος ἐποίησεν ὁ Χι[ος.

<sup>1</sup> F. Winter, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 224, points out a great exactness of detail noticeable in the face of the Nike. He is led to assume that a system of measurements for the various parts of the human figure had been in use among sculptors even in these early times.



of sculpture into fame. Archermos was followed, as has been said, by his sons Bupalos and Athenis, from whom no actual work has survived so far. But it is known of Bupalos that he had sculptured figures of the Graces for the temple of Nemesis at Smyrna, and that these Graces were draped.<sup>1</sup> At Pergamon also were to be seen figures of Graces by him. Under a rapidly advancing art Bupalos may be conceived as having surpassed the work of his father, much as certain statues found of late years on the Acropolis of Athens surpass the Nike of Archermos. These also are draped female figures, and possibly in their attitudes they do not much differ from the Graces of Bupalos. From their uniformity of aspect, and from the fact of their having been found together close to the Erechtheum, these statues may be supposed to have originally stood beside each other in some spot not far from where they were discovered. Many fragments of pedestals were found at the same time inscribed with the name of the goddess Athenè, and if these fragments belong to the statues, then the statues had been placed on the Acropolis in her honour. But if the statues were meant to represent Athenè herself it could not have been in her usual character; for then she wore a helmet and carried a shield and spear. It may have been in her capacity of Athenè Ergane, the patroness of skilled industry. On the heads of several of the statues rise metal rods which had served for the attachment of some object carried on the head. What the object had been it is perhaps impossible to say, but if we compare the remains of Greek sculpture in general we shall hardly be able to find a better suggestion than that of a modius or cylindrical basket such as was carried on the head of

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<sup>1</sup> Paus. ix. 35. 6.

those figures which we call *canephoræ*. If the marble statues of the Acropolis, or some of them, had a *modius* on the head we might regard them as prototypes of the famous *Caryatids* of the *Erechtheum*, which with one exception still stand close by. In the *Caryatids*, or as



Fig. 39. — Bust of marble statue—Acropolis of Athens.

we might equally well call them, *Charites* or *Graces*, the *modius* on the head is reduced to something like the *echinus* of a *Doric* capital, while the action of taking hold of the skirt with one hand but not pulling it aside, may be viewed as a later version of the archaic manner of distinctly pulling it aside, as in Fig. 41 and the other statues of the Acropolis. Fig. 41 is restored holding a

phiale in her right hand, as does a small marble statue of this same archaic type in the British Museum, which for anything we know may have been found on the Acropolis. Another of these small archaic statues in the Museum, from Athens, holds in



Fig. 40.—Upper part of marble statue—Acropolis, Athens.

front of her with both hands a circular dish. It is possible that the circular dish in this case was intended to hold water for those persons to sprinkle themselves with who came to offer sacrifice. And if it is fair to argue from the figures of Naiads, as they are called, which in later art hold a shell in front in a similar manner, it is perhaps possible that those archaic

statues holding out a vase may have been intended for personifications of the Seasons or of the Graces. It is known that the Graces (Charites) had an archaic sanctuary at the entrance to the Acropolis, and reliefs have been found at the Propylæa on which they are represented under a type of figure closely resembling these statues.<sup>1</sup>

A noticeable feature in these lately found statues on the Acropolis is the brightness and variety of the colouring which has been employed on the borders of the dresses, on the diadems, the eyes and lips. On the borders of the dress the usual ornament is the mæander, or key-pattern, more or less simple or complex. On the diadem the pattern is generally a row of upright palmettes, like an earlier stage of the pattern known to us as the anthemion or honeysuckle. These patterns are so set out on the marble as to present sometimes a very agreeable combination of green, red and white. In Fig. 40, which is the most advanced and most beautiful of all these marble statues, the chiton or undergarment was indicated in colour with a border along the top, having for its ornament a row of chariot groups racing one behind the other, like a prototype of the Parthenon frieze.<sup>2</sup> The outlines faintly incised on the marble are still visible in parts, but the colours have faded. These colours, it is to be remembered, were not employed to cover poverty of material. The marble is Parian, and from modern practice it would appear that nothing needs less aid from colour. But to the early Greeks marble was as yet an unattractive substance, dug from the earth in large masses, and of no intrinsic value. They had

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<sup>1</sup> See the relief found in Jan., pl. 14, p. 467).  
1889, close to the Propylæa      <sup>2</sup> Jahrbuch, 1887, p. 217.  
Bulletin de Corr. Hellén., 1889,





Fig. 41.—Restoration of Marble statue, with base bearing name of Antenor—Acropolis, Athens.

been accustomed to sculpture in gold and ivory, silver, bronze, ebony and cedarwood, more or less combined into a rich effect. At the same time, we must

not forget that the very frequent confining of colour to the borders and details of dress, and to such parts of the face as are strongly coloured by nature, as the eyes, lips and hair, was itself a concession to the beauty resident in marble. On the pedestal which has been joined to Fig. 41 are written the name of the person at whose cost the statue was erected and the name of its sculptor Antenor. The person who paid for the statue bears the well-known name of a vase painter. More than that, the inscription tells us that the sculptor himself, Antenor, was the son of a vase painter, whom we also knew before from literary records, in which he is credited with a certain boldness of invention beyond his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> It may be remembered that Pheidias also was the son of a painter, and it is perhaps allowable to speculate that the influence of one art upon another, of which we hear so much in historical studies, may oftener than is supposed have taken a hereditary turn. It is with Antenor himself, however, that we are now concerned. He had been known before, because of a certain bronze group which had become celebrated in antiquity from the strange vicissitudes through which it passed. It was a group which represented the two tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton striking down the tyrant Hipparchos in Athens in the middle of a great public ceremony (B.C. 510). The incident was momentous, because it proved to be the beginning of the end of that form of government by tyranny which the Athenians had borne too long. It was no wonder that an incident so pregnant with great consequences was ordered to be commemorated publicly by a work of sculpture, and equally it was not strange

<sup>1</sup> C. I. A. iv., Supp. 373<sup>91</sup>,  
Νέαρχος ἀν[έθηκεν ὁ κεραμεύς] ὡς ἔργων  
ἀπαρχήν[ταθηναιά.]

Ἀντήνωρ ἐπ[οίησεν] ὁ Εὐμάχου  
τ[ὸ ἄγαλμα]. Cf. fragment, C. I. A.  
iv., Supp. 373<sup>92</sup>.

that the Persian King Xerxes, himself the model of a tyrant, should have had something to say about the group when he found Athens at his feet. One would have expected that he would lose no time in ordering its destruction. But no; tradition says that he carried it off to Persia, where it remained for several centuries, being ultimately restored to Athens by Alexander the Great or one of his successors. In the meantime the

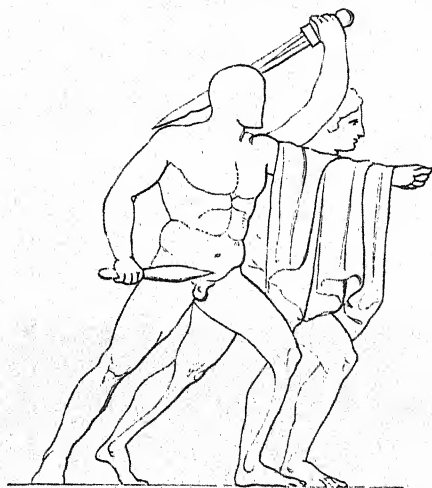


Fig. 42.—Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Relief on marble chair, at Athens.

Athenians ordered a copy to be made of the missing group, and set it up in a frequented spot near the Areopagus.<sup>1</sup> It was not Antenor that made this new copy. At least thirty years had elapsed since his original work had been set up, and possibly he was

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, i. 8. 5; cf. Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 443-447. It is positively stated that the statues were of bronze. They stood in a place called the Orchestra, *τόπος ἐπιφανὴς εἰς πανήγυριν*

*ἐνθα Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνες*. Köhler, "Hermes," vi. p. 93, discusses the site of the Orchestra, and places the statues on the east cliff of the Areopagus.

by this time too old, or may have gone over to the majority. Two sculptors were employed to reproduce the group of Antenor, but as to whether they had been pupils of his or not we have no information. Nor

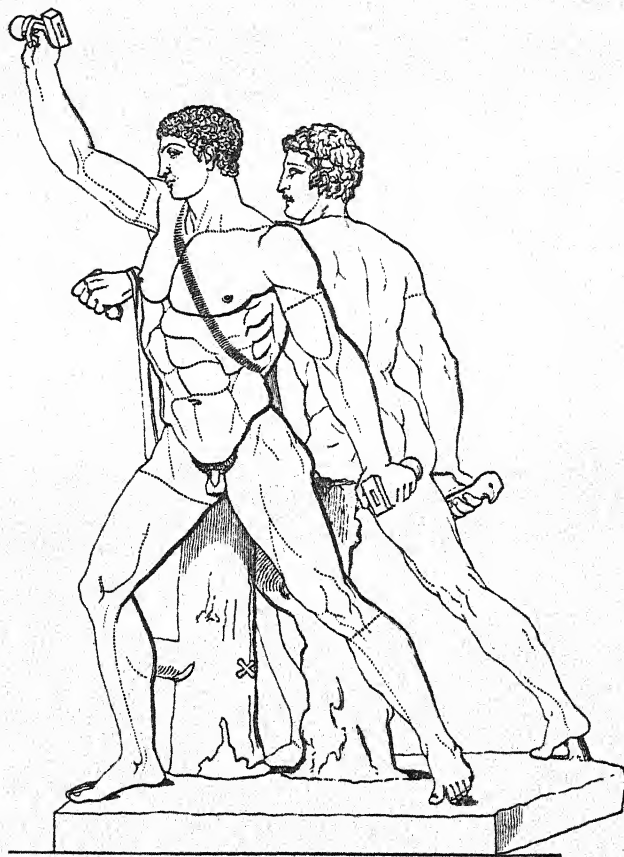


Fig. 43.—Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Two marble statues in Naples Museum, arranged as a group.

can we tell how far they had adhered to the original motive.

It happens that a group of tyrannicides is known to us from ancient copies ; it has been recognized in two marble statues in the Museum at Naples, on a painted



vase<sup>1</sup> from Athens in the British Museum, on a marble relief (Fig. 42), and on coins.<sup>2</sup> But what is strange in all these representations of the group is, that the victim, Hipparchos, is missing. We see Harmodios and Aristogeiton advancing side by side with murderous intent, but with no enemy before them; and yet in the original group the victim must have been present, much as we see him on a fragment of a painted vase recently found on the Acropolis. The only explanation that suggests itself is that Xerxes having, very properly from his point of view, destroyed the figure of the fallen Hipparchos, had at the same time carried off the two slayers of him either to vex the Athenians or from admiration of them as works of art. He would be free to admire them when the figure of Hipparchos was once removed. When the group was returned to Athens it would, of course, consist of only two figures, the vicissitudes of which would attract public attention and lead to representations of them being made on coins and vases.

Of the two Naples statues (Fig. 43)<sup>3</sup> one has been much

<sup>1</sup> This vase was discovered by Mr. Dennis, and is engraved by him in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, ix. 2nd ser. pl. 1. It cannot be said to differ in any material point from the other Panathenaic vases found by him in the Cyrenaica, which range in date from B.C. 367-328.

<sup>2</sup> Stackelberg in 1835 engraved the coin and the relief, which occurs on one side of a marble chair, in his *Gräber der Hellenen*, p. 33, recognising the true importance of both objects. His judgment was confirmed in 1836 by Welcker, in the *Rhein. Mus.* iv. p. 472, who returned to the

subject in 1850 in his *Alte Denkmäler*, ii. p. 213. The coin is a tetradrachm, and bears the names of the magistrates Mentor and Moschion, whose dates have not yet been determined. The story of Harmodios and Aristogeiton will be found in Grote, iii. p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> See Friederichs, first in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1859, p. 65, pl. 127, and afterwards in his *Bausteine*, p. 31. Compare the observations of Michaelis, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1865, p. 13. Since then it has been proposed to identify as further copies of the Athenian group two marble statues in the Boboli Gardens in Florence (*Mon. d. Inst.*

restored in modern times and is of small use as an illustration of archaic Greek art. The other has fortunately been fairly well preserved. It is a figure of a very rugged build, with a long body thrown well forward so as to bring out strongly the forms and structure of the bones. The legs are comparatively short, showing that already a change had begun from the oldest manner of a short body and long legs. In the face and head, the structure of bone is rendered in a rough, strong fashion. The flesh is represented in large masses, with hardly any indication of its being subject to the movement of muscle. The brow is small and low, the lower part of the face being very massive. The eyes are small, and round rather than almond shaped. The hair lies in small curls all over the head. Altogether the figure reflects admirably the rude strength of the times, with considerable knowledge of structure and form, but without the power of conceiving the human figure as an organism perfectly free in its movements.

There had never been actual proof that the two Naples statues were ancient copies from the group of

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Arch. viii. pl. 46); but few even of those who accept this identification will go so far as to agree that the Naples figures represent the older group of Antenor, and that the Florence figures are copies of the later statues by Kritios and Nesiotes. Overbeck (*Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 118) records his dissent, and since then a thorough examination of the Florence statues has shown so little of them to be really ancient, that it is impossible to say whether or not they were originally copies of the Athenian group. The two Naples statues are engraved in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 869, nos. 2202 and 2203A.

E. Petersen (*Arch. Epigraph. Mittheil. aus CEsterr.*, iii. pl. 6, and p. 9) justly remarks (p. 10) that both figures are treated broadly in the manner of reliefs, each to face an opposite side; that the one must be placed a little in advance of the other, if for no other reason than to avoid the accumulation of arms which would result from both standing close together; but that Harmodios, the younger of the two, should be placed a little farther back than the older Aristogeiton, not only for effect, but, as Petersen thinks, for consistency with what Thucydides says (vi. 57. 3), contrary though this is to the general opinion.

Antenor. Some had supposed them to be rather copies from the group substituted for it at Athens. But now if the base bearing the name of Antenor has been rightly joined to the statue found on the Acropolis, there is, or ought to be, an opportunity of comparing the two and, perhaps, deciding the matter. The face of the recently found statue is certainly much injured, but still there is enough to show a considerable resemblance of treatment when it is compared with the other head, and so far this resemblance is in favour of the view that the Naples statues had been copied directly from the group of Antenor.

To this period may also be assigned the marble statue of Hermes carrying a calf over his shoulders, which was found on the Acropolis in 1864. Recently this statue has been joined to a base, recovered during the late excavations on the Acropolis. The inscription on the base tells that the statue had been set up by one Kombos, and the letters are of the Attic form, characteristic of the first half of the sixth century, B.C.<sup>1</sup> The name of the sculptor is not given. But clearly he belonged to a school where the early traditions of working in relief was still powerful. For instance, the calf which he carries appears, so to speak, to grow out of the Hermes, instead of conveying the illusion of a distinct object carried on his shoulders and held with his hands. Similarly his arms are not free from the body in reality, nor are they rendered in such a way as to convey this impression. The rough treatment of the hair and beard implies in the original a finish of colour, so also the now hollow eyeballs could not well have been inlaid with ebony or other material without a corresponding degree of colour in the rest of the face, while the drapery, which now clings to the varying

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<sup>1</sup> Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen, xiii., p. 113.

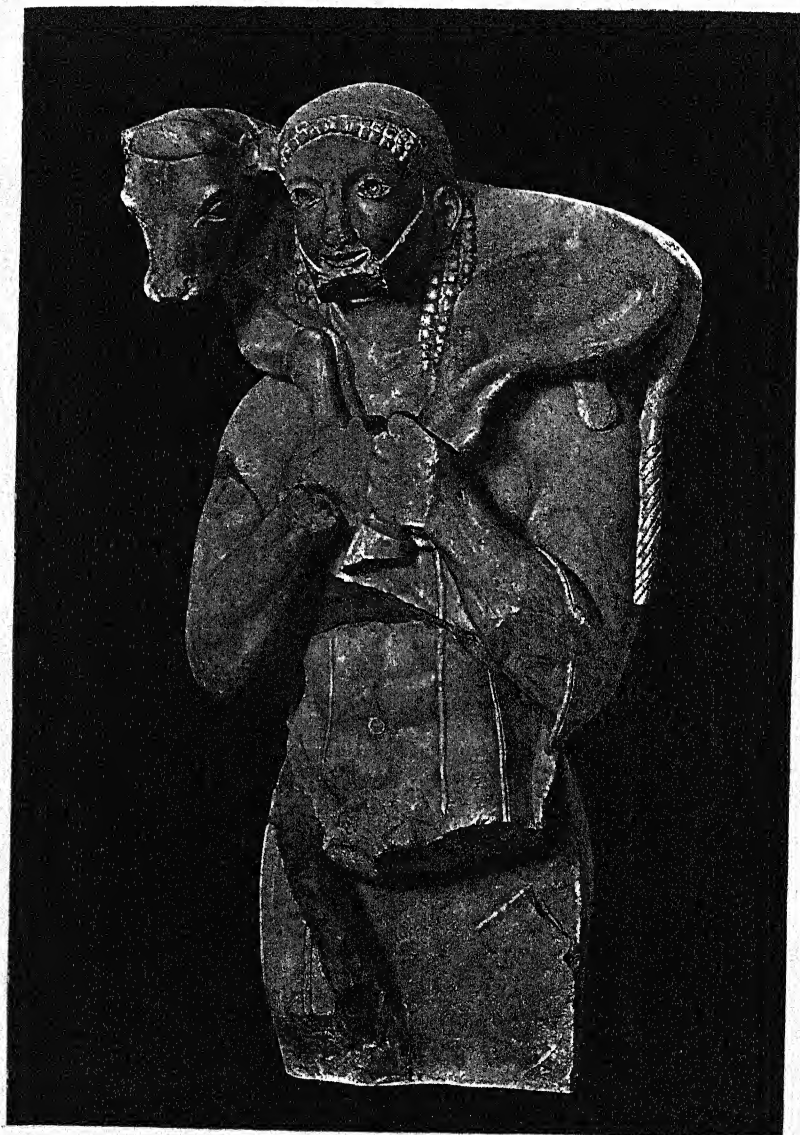


Fig. 44.—Hermes carrying calf—Acropolis, Athens.

surface of the body, may have derived from colour an appearance of being detached and independent.

Among the inscribed pedestals found along with the statues on the Acropolis, was one bearing the name of



Onatas,<sup>1</sup> a sculptor much praised in antiquity. We read often of him and of the Æginetan school of which he was the chief ornament. We possess a few of the metrical inscriptions which he, like some other sculptors of his time, used to place on the pedestals of his works, telling that he, Onatas, son of Mikon, living in Ægina, was the sculptor. The verses of Onatas may not be poetically ambitious, but it is worth remembering for a moment that the times must have been very simple and natural in the appreciation of art when the right thing for a sculptor to do was to write boldly across his pedestal a couple of verses telling his parentage and home, occasionally also mentioning some previous work that he had done.

It has been the custom to assign to Onatas part, at least, of the statues obtained from a temple in Ægina and now in Munich. From the style of these sculptures it was thought that they must belong to his time, and from the honour and esteem in which he was held in his native place it was argued that he would never have been passed over in so conspicuous a public work as was this temple. These are mere probabilities, and it

<sup>1</sup> See Ephemer. Archaiol. 1887, p. 145. Besides the name of Onatas this pedestal records also a dedicatory inscription which has been read:

Τίμαρχος : μ' ἀνέθηκε : Διὸς κρατερόφ[ρονι κούρη.  
μαντείων φρασμοσύναι μητρὸς ἐπ[ήραν, οἱ ἔπ[ισαν.

C. I. A., iv. Supp. 373<sup>99</sup>.

Among the other new names of sculptors of the archaic period found inscribed on pedestals—mostly in the shape of columns—on the Acropolis are,

1. Ἐλευθερος ἐ[ποίησεν, C. I. A., iv. Supp. 373<sup>102</sup>.

2. Θηβάδης ἐ[ποίησεν. . . . ]νου  
παῖς τὸδ' ἄγαλμα, C. I. A., iv. Supp.  
373<sup>105</sup>.

3. Φ[ίλων με ἐποίησεν, *ibid.* 373<sup>103</sup>.

4. Πύθις ἐποίησεν, Deltion, 1888, p. 82.

5. Φίλερ[μος] ἐποίησεν, on a fluted columnar base on which also occurs the name of the sculptor Endoeos, Deltion, 1888, p. 208.

6. Εὐήνωρ ἐπο[ίησε, C. I. A., iv. Supp. 373<sup>88</sup>.

Εὐήνωρ ἐποίησεν, *ibid.* 373<sup>87</sup>.

Εὐήνωρ ἐπ[οίησεν, *ibid.* 373<sup>88</sup>.

is therefore a matter of deep regret that no statue has yet been found on the Acropolis to fit on to the pedestal bearing the name of Onatas. It could not have been a much larger statue than those of which we have been speaking, and they are all a little under life size. It was a peculiarity of archaic sculpture to make its



Fig. 45.—Bronze head—Acropolis of Athens.

statues just under life size. The sculptors seemed afraid to face the actual reality of natural size, whether from some unconscious feeling that the imperfection of their manner might escape under an imperfect type of figure, or from other reasons. The sculptors of Ægina are no exceptions to this rule.

It happens that among the sculptures of the Acropolis there was found a bronze head, which from the point of view of archaic art is unrivalled in its perfection. The old feeling of Charis or Grace is still dominant. The eyebrows have the delicate conventional arch. The eyelids are in the archaic manner, though more graceful in their lines, as are also the full lips, with strongly marked contours, while the beard excels in the refinement of form and detail which the archaic manner aimed at. The ear is set far back, but the lines of it exhibit the same love of graceful curves and forms which characterizes the archaic period of all art. On the head has been a helmet, made separately, and attached with nails. The eyes have been inlaid with some material which has mostly perished.

On comparing this head with that of the Ægina statues in Munich it will be seen that a considerable difference of style exists between them, so much so, that it cannot well have belonged to the missing statue of Onatas, if it is right to assume that the Ægina statues, or part of them, had actually been executed by him as is generally supposed. Nevertheless we have in the bronze head a very beautiful example of archaic sculpture, most carefully minute in its details, most devoted to graceful curves and forms, and yet aiming at a general truth of structure.

Some have supposed this bronze head to be the work of Ageladas, finding in it just those qualities of minute finish, grace and general knowledge of structure for which he is famed.

We have seen in the marble statues how much bright colours were admired for borders of draperies and the like. We cannot expect to find on the bronzes the same extent of bright colours, yet there are instances where we have an equivalent: in particular

a very beautiful statuette of this period in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> where the drapery is enriched with a conspicuous border of the meander pattern, inlaid in silver. In another respect the statuette is unique, its eyes are made of diamonds. In bronze sculpture the eyes were usually made of some bright material, mostly in the form of glass paste, or of ivory, for the white of the eye, and ebony for the pupil. We read also of precious stones being used, not, however, diamonds. Apart from these technical matters this statuette is remarkable for the great beauty of the face, which may fairly be regarded as a prototype of the Athene of Pheidias as we know it from copies that still exist, such, for example, as the marble figure found in Athens some years ago, or a bronze statuette in the British Museum, which appears to be a copy of his Athenè Promachos, the colossal statue of bronze which stood on the Acropolis.<sup>2</sup> The effort of the Athenians at this time towards a large ideal style is shown by another example from the Acropolis. It is a bronze head of a statue.<sup>3</sup> Its resemblance in type and style to the head of Apollo from the west pediment of Olympia, is striking in the highest degree. The sculptures of the west pediment of Olympia are, as we shall see, remarkable for nothing so much as the largeness of their style, and yet it is a largeness of style which the sculptor has only been able to attain by allowing himself extraordinary negligence of detail. His work represents the first great revulsion against the old formality and precision. It represents him incapable as yet to combine with his largeness and idealism the necessary truth to general detail which Pheidias knew how to combine.

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved, *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., "Costume," fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., pl. 10, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Musée d'Athènes*, pl. 16.



## CHAPTER VII.

### ARCHAIC STATUARY.

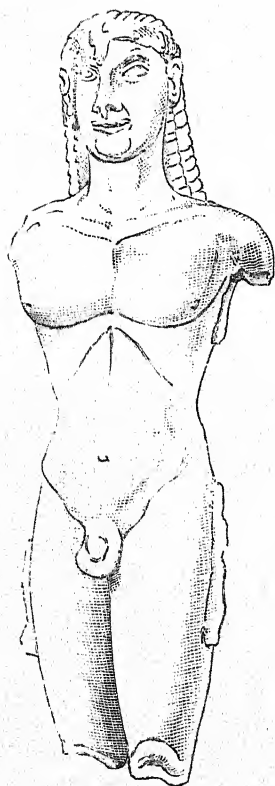
Apollo of Orchomenos—Apollo of Tenea—Apollo of Acræphia—  
Strangford Apollo—The Dædalides.

It is to be borne in mind that Greek sculpture grew up chiefly under the practice of working in relief, and that under these circumstances the rendering of excited or violent action presented none of the difficulties which arise when a statue in the round is in question. A statue must stand free on its own feet, and accordingly in the earliest sculptures of this kind the artist, though possessed of the common conception of a figure strained throughout its limbs, has been compelled to adopt an attitude of apparent repose. This will be seen in the three marble statues from Tenea,<sup>1</sup> Thera and Orchomenos, which, not so much because the name positively

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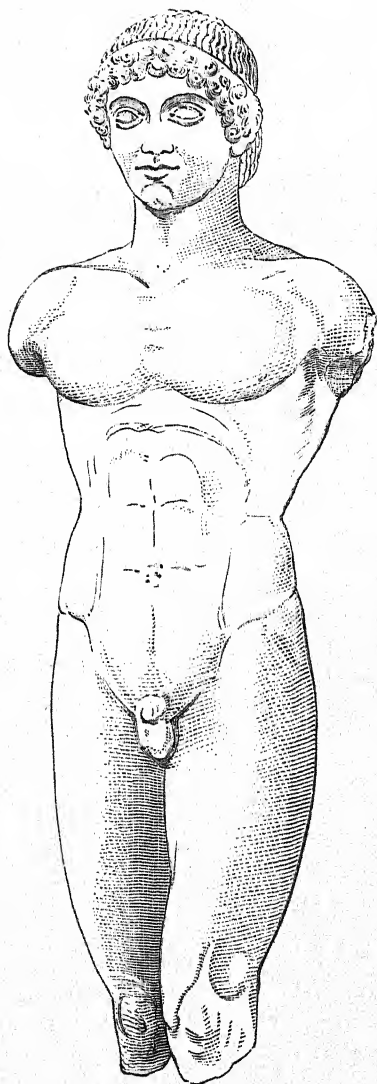
<sup>1</sup> Friederichs, *Bausteine*, nos. 2, 3, states that the figure from Tenea was found in 1846. It is now in Munich. The figure from Thera was found in 1836, and is now in the Museum at Athens. In both he sees the effect of Egyptian influence in the position of the legs and arms, the small hips and highly placed ears, *e.g.*, in the Thera figure, which is engraved in Schöll. *Archäol. Mittheilungen*, pl. 4, fig. 8. The other figure is in the *Monumenti d. Inst. Arch.*, iv. pl. 44, and in Overbeck, *Gr. Plas-*

*tik*, 2nd ed. p. 92. The Apollo of Orchomenos, here given is from the *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1861, pl. f., where it is described, p. 79, by Conze and Michaelis. Of this same type of figure is a colossal marble torso from Megara, now in the National Museum at Athens, and two marble statues of small size from Actium, now in the Louvre. These two statues from Actium compare closely with the marble figure in the British Museum (pl. 2).



MARBLE FIGURE IN THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

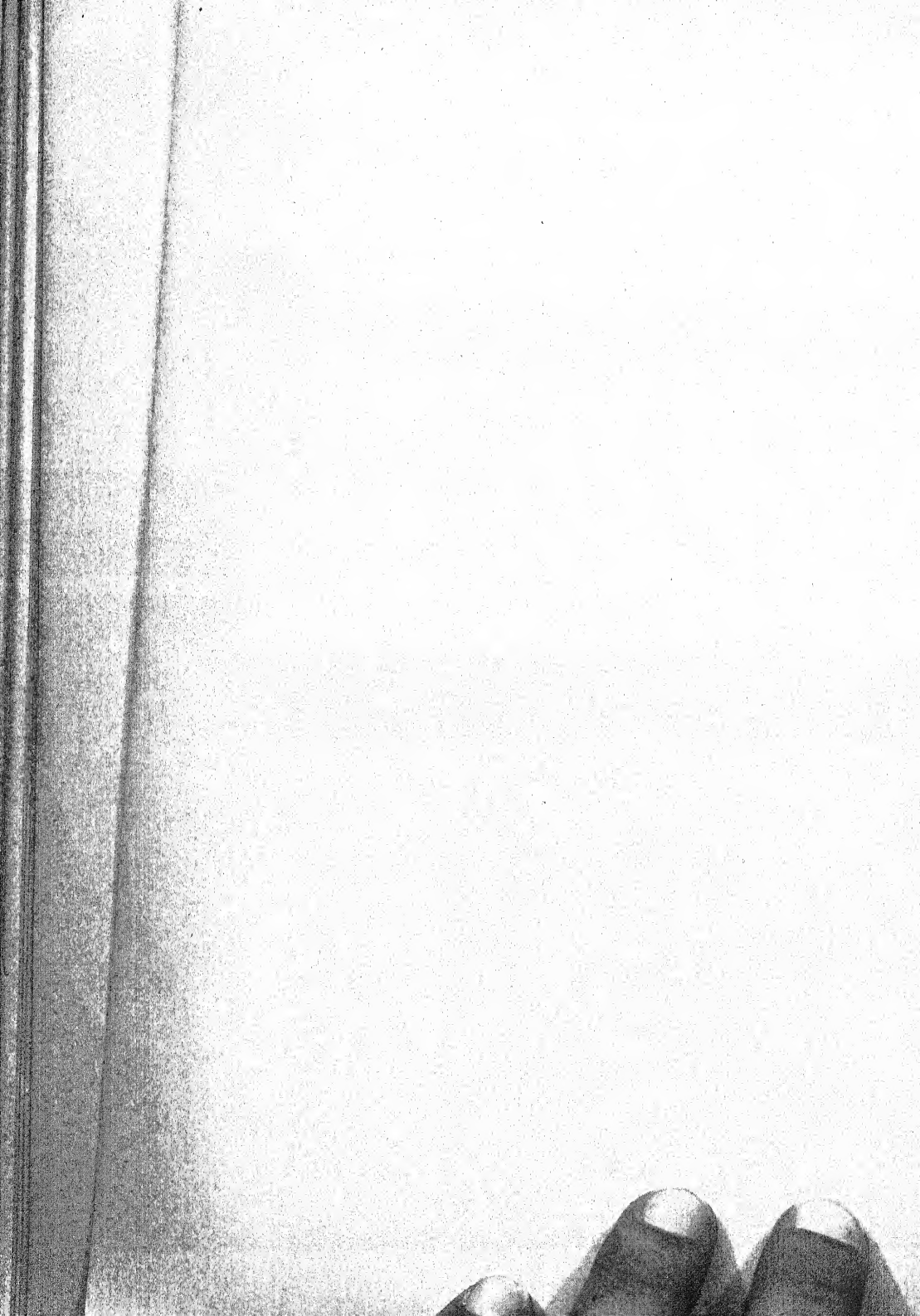
FROM ACKRAEPHIA?



STRANGFORD APOLLO.

MARBLE FIGURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[To face p. 172.]



applies to them, as because no better title has been made out, are known as Apollo. They are each nude, with the legs close together, and the arms by the sides. The hair falls in a long broad mass down the back, the eyes are inclined downwards towards the nose, the lips are firmly closed, and the construction of the figure, mostly, however, as a thing of bones, is freely displayed. Considerable differences of detail exist. The rudest is the figure from Thera; the most advanced, even to the extent of being almost pretty, is the statue from Tenea; while, on the other hand, the Apollo of Orchomenos is the work of a vigorous hand and a fresh mind, though yet without much training. In it the hair across the brow lies in spiral curls contiguous to each

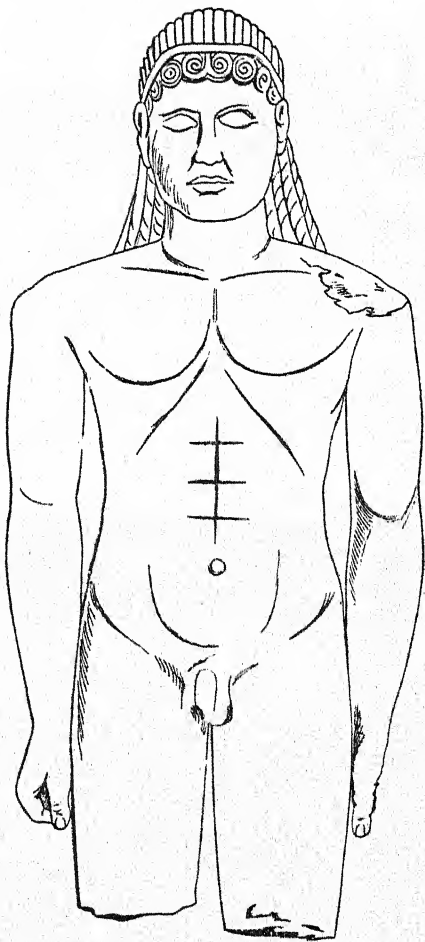


Fig. 46.—Marble statue found at Orchomenos.

other and rendered with a fine firm touch; at the back it falls in long tresses not quite detached. There is a sort of geometric division of the torso. The chest is flat and hard. The brow is narrow and the cheeks full. The shoulders are quite square, and the head



held stiffly. The back is an excellent study of form in this extremely early age, showing the position of muscles, and, in certain places, the movement of skin. In the figure from Thera the curls over the brow are more formal, the brow larger and the cheeks more spare, with the bones pronounced, while the expression of the mouth is more effective and more humanized. The lines of the torso are softer and the arms less vigorous. As regards the date to which sculpture of this order may be assigned we have only such evidence as can be deduced from palæography. On the Delos statue of Nikandra there is an inscription which appears to belong to the latter half of the seventh century B.C. In Delos again has been found a base of a statue inscribed with the name of a sculptor, Iphikartides, the writing being here also assigned to the end of the seventh century B.C. Only the feet of the statue remain, and they appear to be sufficiently rude, resembling the part of a colossal foot, also attached to a base, found in Delos and now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The Apollo of Orchomenos may therefore be assigned to the seventh century B.C.

The Apollo of Tenea is said to have been found under circumstances which point to its having been the monument of a tomb. It is known also that a marble torso from Marion in Cyprus now in the British Museum had been placed outside the entrance to a tomb within which was found a silver coin of Idalium, which numismatists date at from 520 B.C. to 500 B.C. In this instance the statue could not be supposed to represent Apollo, but like the statue from Tenea should be regarded as a merely monumental figure. On the other hand where such statues have been found on the site of ancient temples

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<sup>1</sup> Homolle, *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.*, 1888, pl. 13, p. 463, thinks the inscription of Iphikartides older than that of Mikkiades and Archermos.

of Apollo, as that of Apollo Ptoös in Bœotia, they at least should be allowed to retain the name of Apollo. It is now generally believed that the smaller of the two marble figures on pl. 6 was found at Acræphia in Bœotia, the site of the temple of Apollo Ptoös.<sup>1</sup>

Undeniably the whole aspect of the Apollo of Tenea is more refined than those hitherto mentioned, and yet it by no means shows a greater advance of artistic knowledge. The attitude is still rigid, the shoulders square, the hips small, and the torso marked out broadly as if on a geometrical principle. The eyes slope, and are placed to be seen fully when looked at in profile. They therefore do not stare. The corners of the mouth turn upwards slightly, and the edges of the lips are incised with a line to mark the junction of the finer with the coarser outer skin, as not seldom in bronze heads, where the inner part of the lips is made of a separate piece, and probably was differently coloured. The chin is small and pointed; the line of the brow and nose is gently hollowed. The ears are placed high and far back. The hair, instead of being arranged in spiral curls over the brow and temples, is twined as if round a concealed diadem, but, as in the other figure, falls in a square mass down the back, divided into chequers to indicate separate tresses and horizontal waving. At the back the shoulder-blades are rendered distinctly but softly. The same is true also of the back altogether and of the muscles in the thighs. But while the forms are all rendered with attention and softness in their superficial aspect, there is a want of real body in the figure which, perhaps, may be due to practice in working in relief, and in any case is suggestive of a tendency to delicacy of appearance which may be described as an Athenian characteristic. A marble<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882,  
p. 55, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.*  
1886, pl. 4.

figure of the same type and almost the same artistic character as that which we have been considering, was found in the excavations at Acræphia in 1886, with other statues and statuettes, several of them being inscribed with dedications to Apollo. Though each and all archaic in style, these various Apollos, as we may fairly call them, nevertheless differ in the degree of archaism which they variously exhibit. A statue of the later class may be compared with the bronze in the Louvre (Fig. 47), so carefully and softly has it been executed.<sup>1</sup> While again among the bronze statuettes are some which appear to display the rudeness and inefficiency of a very early date. It has been argued that notwithstanding these variations indicative of different epochs, the original type of these Apollo statues and the general impulse to the production of them, had been introduced into Greece by the Cretan sculptors Dipœnos and Skyllis.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand it has been observed as far as concerns the statues of Apollo Ptoös, that his temple was all along in the hands of the Thebans, that the production of the statues would be guided by Theban tastes, that the Thebans are known to have hid an Apollo Ismenios by the sculptor Kanachos, the type of which was not far distant from this type, and that, therefore, Kanachos may have been the originator of it.<sup>3</sup> But considering the many different localities where statues of this type have been found, we may for the present decline to identify any one artist as the originator of it.

A very considerable advance in art is to be seen in the Strangford Apollo, a small marble statue also in the British Museum (pl. 6). Where it was found and where

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<sup>1</sup> Bulletin de Corr. Hellén., 1882, p. 55.  
1887, pl. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Holleaux, Bulletin de Corr.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwaengler, Arch. Zeit. Hellén., 1886, p. 274.

it was made is unknown. But from an examination of it in detail the conclusion has been arrived at<sup>1</sup> that it is to be classed with the sculptures of the west pediment in the temple of Ægina, and in general terms to be identified with the school of Kallon of that island. The comparison is correct so far as concerns the minutely studied points of anatomy. Yet, on the whole, there is this difference, that the Strangford figure excels in close attention to living form, with an excess of minute refinement, while the Æginetan statues, though also scrupulously attentive to actual form, attain a certain largeness of style, and therefore show a broader artistic conception. Possibly the Strangford Apollo is a work of Athenian sculpture, and if anything rather earlier in date than the Æginetan sculptures of the west pediment. The face is comparatively broad, with the eyes nearly round and sloping a little outward. The curls of hair on the brow and temples are rendered not in flat and formal but in conical spirals. The hair lies over the head in wavy tresses, with little modelling, and instead of falling down the back is gathered up at the roots behind. In the torso the skin lies very close to the structure of bones. The mouth is small and compressed, the chin pointed and the cheeks full, giving altogether an expression of pleasure. The chest is deep, and when looked at in profile has the appearance of athletic strength. In this and the other early statues in question it is the left leg which is forward.

Again, an advance is to be seen in the bronze Apollo

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn, in the *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. phil. cl.* 1872, p. 529, where an engraving of the figure is given. A large and very careful engraving of the Strangford Apollo is given by

Prachov in the *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 41; cf. *Annali*, 1872, p. 181-184, and a very fine heliograph in Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, pl. 28.



in the Louvre, bearing on his left foot the inscription ΑΘΑΝΑ: Α ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ, and said to have been found at Piombino in Tuscany (Fig. 47). The shoulders are high and square, with the chest thrown well up, the thigh full,

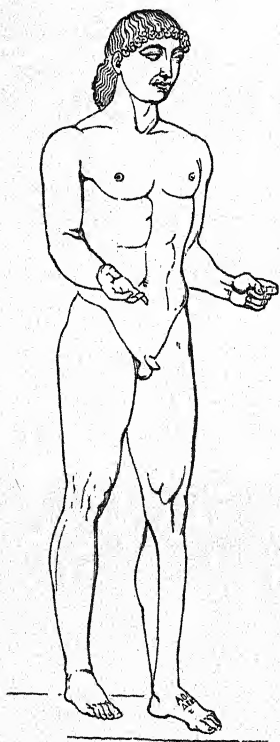


Fig. 47.—Bronze figure of Apollo, in the Louvre.

and not so flat at the sides as the preceding figure; nor are the muscles of the thighs and bones of knees so minutely marked as in the Strangford Apollo. On the other hand the bones of the feet, in particular of the toes, are given with great exactness and desire for truth. The bones of the chest are in their outlines rounded off and softened down to a degree not to be expected in bronze, least of all in early bronze sculpture. The chin is small, and the lips lie in a horizontal line in the main, with the corners turned up only a very little. The crown of the head rises to an unusual height. The back of the whole figure is more carefully modelled than is the Strangford Apollo; the muscles of the left wrist are strongly pronounced. The hair is

indicated by masses broadly modelled, with incised lines on the surface. Seen in profile this figure becomes animated in attitude and throws out a very harmonious system of lines of composition. So that altogether it may be said to be nearer in manner to the Æginetan statues than the figures of Apollo previously described.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This bronze figure is very gravure in Rayet and Thomas' beautifully reproduced in photo- Milet et le Golfe Latmique, pl. 29.

For the sake of a continuous study of the archaic sculptures found in recent years on the Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere, we have disturbed somewhat the ordinary chronology of the early Greek sculptors, though that indeed, at the best, tends to be fluctuating. We must now turn back in particular to the so-called followers of Dædalos. The name of Dædalos, and a long continuance of skill in producing statues<sup>1</sup> (xoana) of the gods, had conferred on Crete a certain glory, which followed its early artists, and led to their being associated in popular fancy with Dædalos himself, so much so that Dipœnos and Skyllis were called not only his pupils but his sons,<sup>2</sup> a belief which the works executed by them in ivory and ebony would be likely to perpetuate. Of this kind was the monument in the temple of the Dioscuri at Argos,<sup>3</sup> consisting of the Dioscuri themselves, their sons Anaxis and Mnasinous, together with Hilæra and Phœbe, who bore them these boys. Both the horses and the figures were in great part of ebony with some additions of ivory. At first these two sculptors established themselves in Sikyon<sup>4</sup> about B.C. 580, finding there, it appears, an artistic community, and obtaining a public commission for statues of Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, and Athene, which the Sikyonians however afterwards withdrew from. Under this wrong, the artists removed to Ætolia. Meantime a famine visited the town of Sikyon, and when the oracle at Delphi was applied to, the response was "to have the images of the gods completed by Dipœnos and Skyllis." This at length was done, but at great cost, whence it may be inferred that the dispute had turned upon remuneration.<sup>5</sup> It is in

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, viii. 53. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ii. 15. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, ii. 22. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 219, proposes to trace the interruption to

connection with their skill in marble that this story is told. Probably, therefore, these statues should be regarded as of this material, notwithstanding the record<sup>1</sup> of similar statues by them made of bronze gilt, which are said to have been carried off by Cyrus from Lydia. At Sikyon they made also an image of Artemis, at Kleonæ a figure of Athene, at Tiryns a statue of Herakles, and in Ambracia were to be seen sculptures from their hands. A colossal statue of Athene, executed in emerald, is ascribed to them on very doubtful authority.<sup>2</sup>

The instances of partnership between brothers, or between father and son, not unfrequently occurring in the early history of sculpture, may be explained partly from the difficulty which must have existed in keeping together the material and appliances of the art, and from a desire to retain in the family a reputation once established. It does not follow that the partners worked jointly on each sculpture, and indeed in the case of a marble statue this would hardly be conceivable. On the other hand, where, as was perhaps mostly the fact, the sculpture consisted of various materials, such as wood, ivory and gold, it is not improbable that there had been a division of labour according to the

the political convulsions in Sikyon consequent on the death of Kleisthenes, B.C. 574. But his argument is not more than a possibility.

<sup>1</sup> In Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 326. Compare Brunn, i. p. 43. Curiously the figure of Athene, which Pliny says was afterwards struck by lightning, is not included with those carried off by Cyrus. Still it is difficult to see how they could have found their way to Lydia and into the

possession of Kroesos in the first instance. Klein, *Arch. Ep. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, ix., p. 176, assigns Dipœnos and Skyllis to a date which would coincide with the end of the reign of Alyattes and the early time of Kroesos, and claims them as contemporaries of Bathykles and Archermos.

<sup>2</sup> In Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 327.

special skill of each in the different technical methods. Possibly also pupils were trained to particular branches. Yet it would not be fair to say of Dontas and Dorykleidas, the pupils of Dipœnos and Skyllis, that they had only learnt to work in wood, ivory and gold because nothing of theirs is mentioned in another material. They were brothers, and natives of Sparta. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> saw in the Treasury of the Megareans at Olympia, a group of figures by Dontas, representing the struggle between Herakles and Achelœos in the presence of Zeus, Deianeira and Oineus(?), with Ares assisting the river god and Athene standing by Herakles. The figures were of cedar, diversified with gold. Previously<sup>2</sup> he had seen in the Heræum a statue of Hera, with another of Athene by the same artist, and a statue of Themis by Dorykleidas, all made of ivory and gold, and presenting the appearance of being very archaic. In the same temple was a group sculptured in cedar, consisting of Herakles beside the Tree of the Hesperides, with Atlas and his daughter. This was the work of Hegylos and Theokles,<sup>3</sup> father and son, the latter being a pupil of Dipœnos and Skyllis. Trained by the same masters and apparently to the same branch of art were Tektæos and Angelion,<sup>4</sup> who together executed a statue of Apollo in Delos, holding in his left hand the bow, in his right three figures of the Graces,<sup>5</sup> doubtless in wood, ivory and gold. A statue of Athene and another of Artemis are also attributed to them. They were the masters of

<sup>1</sup> vi. 19. 12. The figure of Athene, he says, had been removed to the Heræum in Olympia. The figures he calls κέδρου ξόδια χρυσῶ διηρησμένα.

<sup>2</sup> v. 17. 1. Compare Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. pp. 46-47.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, vi. 19. 8, and v. 17. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, ii. 32. 5, and ix.

35. 3; cf. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 335, and Griech. Plastik, 2nd ed. p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> The copies probably of this statue which occur on a gem and on coins of Athens (Müller, Handbuch, § 86), are comparatively late, and can only reproduce the general motive.



Kallon of Ægina. Another pupil of Dipœnos and Skyllis was Klearchos of Rhegium in Lower Italy, who also, though himself without any great fame, was the master of the celebrated sculptor Pythagoras of the same town. It is true that Pausanias<sup>1</sup> in another statement gives a Corinthian, Eucheiros, as the master of Klearchos, while again he reports the opinion that he had been a pupil of Dædalos, and appears to favour it when he says that the bronze figure of Zeus by him at Sparta was the oldest bronze work he had seen, being made of pieces hammered out and fastened together with nails. It is true that nothing shows Dipœnos and Skyllis to have worked in bronze, and therefore to have been able to train Klearchos in the sculpture of this material. On the other hand, a figure of the kind described by Pausanias would be substantially of wood over which the bronze plates would be made to fit and be nailed together. Thus the technical process, would, in fact, differ slightly from the traditional methods of sculpture which were traced to Dædalos in their origin.

When it is said that the Seasons,<sup>2</sup> grouped in the Heræum with deities of ivory and gold by Dontas and Dorykleidas, were from the hand of Smilis of Ægina, the inference is that they ranged with the other figures in material and were executed about the same time, that is, apparently between B.C. 580—540 or nearly so. But against this arguments have been urged, founded partly on a passage of Pausanias,<sup>3</sup> where Smilis is described as a contemporary of Dædalos, though less famous, and partly on a belief that the early school of sculpture in Ægina had depended on him as one of its founders, and that its familiar characteristics of rigidity

<sup>1</sup> iii. 17. 6; vi. 4. 4. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, v. 17. 1.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 4. 4.

were only possible in a considerably more remote period than that just stated. A similarly very early date is suggested by other combinations more or less unsatisfactory in regard to the probably wooden figure of Hera by him in the temple of Samos. It is, however, barely conceivable, had the Seasons been much older than the figures grouped with them, that the fact would have escaped notice, and on this account we may be allowed to accept the later date, which, it will be seen, introduces Smilis immediately into the company of those others who, like him, upheld the ancient renown of working in wood, ivory and gold. With them should be reckoned also Cheirisophos,<sup>1</sup> from Crete, who made a statue of Apollo for Tegea, possibly of wood, and at all events plated with gold. Beside it stood a figure of himself in marble—not the first instance in which a sculptor made a statue of himself,—and an example of sculpture in marble which will presently be seen to have been followed on an enlarged scale.

Another pupil of Dædalos, by which, it need hardly be repeated, is meant a sculptor who applied himself to the production of sacred images of wood or ivory chiefly for temples, was Endæos,<sup>2</sup> who, notwithstanding the account of his having escaped from Athens with Dædalos, appears to have flourished about B.C. 550. It is said, and perhaps there need be no question in the matter, that he made the image of Artemis for her temple at Ephesus. But whether the finished figure corresponded with the existing representations<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, viii. 53. 7. Ἐπίχρυσος means plated with gold. Schubart, Rhein. Mus. 1860, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 4; viii. 46. 1; vii. 5, 9. Cf. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 352, for an Athenian inscription in which the

name of this artist occurs, the date of which is, from the forms of the letters, given as about the middle of 6th cent. B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the statue in Naples; engraved, Falkener, Ephesus and the Temple of Diana, p. 286.

of that goddess cannot be ascertained. A figure of Athene Alea by him was carried off to Rome by Augustus, whose taste for archaic sculpture has been referred to. It was of ivory. In Erythræ was an Athene Polias ascribed to him, made of wood, and large in scale, seated, holding a distaff, and wearing on her head a polos. At the entrance of the temple were figures of Graces and Seasons, the general aspect of which confirmed, says Pausanias, the conclusion he

had arrived at from the style itself of the Athene that the sculptor was Endœos. These statues of Graces and Seasons were of marble. With these Seasons and Graces we have already compared the marble female statues on the Acropolis of Athens. It is certain, from an inscribed base found there long ago, that Endœos had worked in Athens, whether or not he may have been an Athenian, as is said.<sup>1</sup>

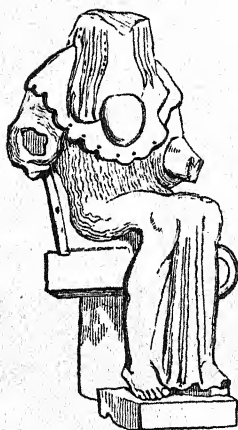


Fig. 48.—Marble statue of Athena (in the Acropolis Museum, Athens).

It has been proposed to identify Fig. 48 with the Athena on the Acropolis,<sup>2</sup> recorded to have been set up by Kallias, and to have been the work of Endœos. Like the Athena at Erythræ<sup>3</sup> just mentioned, this figure is also seated. Though the sculpture is clearly archaic of about the middle of the 6th century B.C., yet among much else of this period it stands out conspicuously as the work of one who was a master in

<sup>1</sup> Klein, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich v. (1881), p. 88, maintains that he must have been a Cretan.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 2nd ed.

p. 137, and compare p. 114; engraved also in the Museum of Class. Antiq., i. p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 4, and vii. 5. 9.

his day. On the other hand, if Endæos was a contemporary of Dipœnos and Skyllis, as his legendary relation to Dædalos, and his manner of working in wood as well as in marble would imply, then this statue of the Acropolis must be assigned to some later artist, for though the archaic manner is very strongly pronounced in the rendering of the tresses and of the drapery, yet there is in the varied position of the legs and arms, and in the treatment of the right foot, an obvious advance towards a larger style. Whatever may be ultimately made of the tangled traditions about the Dædalides, or sculptors named after Dædalos, it is clear from Pausanias at least that his mind was impressed with some record or belief that there had been an early stage of art in Athens during which sculptors from Crete had exercised a ruling influence. It is this belief that enables him to reconcile his statement of Endæos being at once a native of Athens and a Dædalide. Elsewhere he appears to distinguish between the Dædalides and the Attic School, as if with the flight of Dædalos and Endæos from Athens all influence from Crete had ceased in Athens. This we shall see in connection with the sculptor Onatas. Meantime we may take Crete, Sikyon, Corinth, as the chief centres of the Dædalides. The proximity of Corinth and Sikyon may naturally enough have led to a community of artistic taste and activity in those early times, but if the original source of this activity was Crete, we could suppose it must have taken either Athens or Argos on its way, possibly now one and now the other. Before proceeding to the sculptors of Argos it will be more convenient to follow a little further the line of Dædalides in Sikyon, which, as has been seen, had some time before proved its enterprize, if not its hospitality, by inviting the Cretan artists Dipœnos and Skyllis to settle there.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### EARLY SCHOOLS OF ARGOS AND ÆGINA.

Public prosperity and activity—Ageladas of Argos—Chariot group at Olympia—Statues of Athletes—Infant Zeus at Ithome and Ægion—Young Herakles—Argeiadas and Atotos—Aristomedon—Sculptures dedicated at Olympia by Smikythos—Kanachos—Apollo of Branchidæ—Kallon—Onatas—Group at Olympia—Chariot of Hiero—Apollo at Pergamus—Hermes at Olympia—Demeter at Phigaleia—"The Æginetan manner"—Glaukias and other sculptors of Ægina.

SUCH was the relationship between master and pupil in the early days when sculpture was a rapidly advancing art, and such apparently also was the public interest in the fact of this relationship, that when mention of it was omitted on proper occasion, as in the inscriptions on bases of statues, a tinge of grievance<sup>1</sup> was felt, and

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, when he knew it, gave the name of the master. When he could not learn it he records the fact. In the case of Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos, he cites from two athletes' statues of theirs at Olympia an epigram (vi. 10. 4), which says that they learned their art from predecessors, *τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων*. R. Schoell, in the Aufsätze zum Geburtstage E. Curtius, p. 121, mentions *ἐκ πατέρων* as a reasonable emendation, to which may be added that the phrase *ἀπ' πατέρων μάθος* is known from a fragment of Alcaeus (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. 102).

The date of one of these statues would be after B.C. 521, the year in which the victory it commemorated was won. The other would be later, since it represented a son of the former athlete. As to the general question whether, when the father of a sculptor is mentioned, the father also is to be held as having been in the same profession, there is considerable affirmative evidence, which, were it absolute, would, when applied to the case just cited, convey that the "predecessors" (*πρότεροι*) were at the same time the immediate ancestors of the two artists.

indeed the amount of attention generally devoted to the subject of artistic activity is otherwise abundantly clear from the extraordinary variety and extent of undertakings of this nature, no less than from the distant quarters whence artists were commissioned with an alacrity and openness suggestive of the whole of Greece having been a free arena of competition. The principal towns were then prosperous, chiefly by commerce, in the extension of which colonies widely spread had become rich and powerful, maintaining the art, poetry, philosophy and institutions of the mother land. All over Greece was known the splendour of what had been achieved in art and in public buildings by Egypt and Assyria. Nor was this knowledge neglected by the Tyrants who ruled the several States of Greece. The activity then initiated was continued when the last of the Tyrants had been dethroned, and as a consequence the material prosperity of the country soon presented that most obvious sign of its existence which is conveyed by a wide patronage of architecture and art. The public games at Olympia had successfully appealed to the strong national passion for rivalry in excellence, not alone physical but also in mental capabilities. To stamp this excellence with approval nothing could be more appropriate than a statue of the winner, and from the existing descriptions of these statues as they stood at Olympia, the light of imagination has long been directed to throw up a picture which modern excavations on the spot have already largely aided in realizing.

The records extending over the period just sketched begin with Ageladas of Argos, whose honour it is to have been remembered in antiquity as the master of Myron and Polykleitos if not also of Pheidias.<sup>1</sup> From

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<sup>1</sup> While there is no dispute that pupils of Ageladas (Pliny, N. H. both Myron and Polykleitos were xxxiv. 55 and 57), there is a doubt

the diversity of manner accredited to these pupils when they in turn became masters, and from the absence of any specially assigned quality to the work of Ageladas himself, it is argued that his success may have been due to a high average of excellence, the example of which was perhaps the best training for a gifted pupil. Conspicuous in the descriptions of works by him is (1) the chariot group<sup>1</sup> at Olympia commemorating a victory of Kleisthenes of Epidamnos in the year B.C. 517. In the chariot apparently were the winner himself and his driver. Each horse had its name written on it, the two attached to the yoke being called Phœnix and Korax, while the two outers were, on the right Knakias, and on the left Samos. An inscription in elegiac verse on the chariot recorded the victory. At Olympia also were two statues of athletes by him, the one (2) of Anochos, a native of Tarentum, who had won the long race in B.C. 521, the other (3) of Timasitheos from Delphi, who had won the pancration twice at Olympia and thrice at the Pythian games, yet who by joining in the memorable attempt of Kylon to seize the Acropolis<sup>2</sup> of Athens had paid for the deed with his life, and had tarnished a name

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about Pheidias. The ordinary belief is that he had been a pupil first of Hegias, and subsequently of Ageladas. But Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, vii. p. 64, enters a vigorous protest against the ancient authorities which are relied on for this belief, and maintains that Hegias or Hegesias, as he is also called, was the sole master of Pheidias.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 10. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vi. 8. 6; Herodotus, v. 70, who describes Kylon as an Olympian victor, says nothing of Timasitheos, as to whom it is

not unlikely that Pausanias may have got his information from the base of the statue. Still, on that view of the case, it would not follow that the inscription was not put on the base years after the statue was erected. Brunn (*Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 71) sees no obstacle to the statue having been commissioned by his friends after his death. Herodotus says that the Kylonian conspiracy occurred before the time of Peisistratos. Thucydides, i. 126, gives a fuller account of it.

famous for bravery as well as for athletic skill. This event occurred in B.C. 507, but no date is assigned to his victories in wrestling, for which the statue was raised, and whether, in fact, the erection of a statue to him after this would have been acceptable may be doubted. As to the chariot group, if not also the two figures, it is to be assumed that they were of bronze, like the horses<sup>1</sup> and female captives made by him for the Tarentines to be set up in Delphi as a token of victory in war against the barbarous Messapians. Nothing is said of the skill in either case, but it may be permitted to indulge the fancy that in the workshop of Ageladas at this time originated that conception of equine beauty which afterwards in innumerable forms decorated the frieze of the Parthenon.

At Ithome was preserved (4) a figure of Zeus<sup>2</sup> by Ageladas, which remained in the house of a priest annually chosen to take care of it and to produce it at the yearly festival. From the belief of the Messenians in Ithome that the infant Zeus had been there tended and nursed by two local nymphs, it is to be supposed that the figure in question represented him in infancy, and this is the more likely when the carrying of it from house to house is considered. In the town of Ægion existed this same relief, and here too was a figure of Zeus, similarly looked after by annually elected priests in their own dwellings. In this case it is distinctly described<sup>3</sup> as a figure of the infant Zeus, and again the work of Ageladas. With it, and from the same hand, was a youthful Herakles, cared for in like manner by a chosen priest. But as regards the Zeus at Ithome,

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, x. 10. 6. Later on the Tarentines over others of their barbarous neighbours, the Peuce-  
(x. 13. 10) Pausanias describes, as tians.  
at Delphi also, a kindred but more  
extensive subject executed by  
Onatas to celebrate a victory of

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, iv. 33. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, vii. 24. 4.



tradition affirmed<sup>1</sup> that it had been originally made for those of the inhabitants of that town who survived the surrender to the Spartans in B.C. 455 and were then transplanted to Naupaktos, where afterwards, as "the Messenians of Naupaktos," they rendered active service against their old enemy. How long the town of Ithome remained in ruins is not known. Pausanias found it repeopled, and engaged, as if from ancient custom, in worshipping the Zeus of Ageladas; and when he states that this figure had been executed for the Messenians in Naupaktos, he may be held to mean simply that it had been made for the original inhabitants of Ithome, who finally were transplanted to Naupaktos. There is nothing strained in this interpretation, contrary though it is to the common opinion<sup>2</sup> that the date of this figure must be placed after B.C. 455, the year of the capture of Ithome. It is necessary to draw attention to this point because, accepting it as a fact that Ageladas was alive and active after this year, it has been found necessary to argue that the statues which have already been said to have been won in B.C. 521 and 517 could not have been executed for many years after, unless the career of

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 72, places the artistic activity of Ageladas from B.C. 500 to 455, assuming that the statues by him commemorating victories as early as B.C. 521 and 517 had not been erected till nearly twenty years after the events. No doubt there was often a delay of years, but it is hardly likely "that successful athletes did not think of statues till, getting old, they abandoned the contest" (Brunn, i. p. 71). Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, v. p. 92, has amended the passage in Pausanias,

x. 13. 10, which mentions certain anathemata as the work of Onatas the Æginetan *καὶ καλύνθου τε ἑστικῶσι ἔργον*. These words he reads *καὶ Ἀγελάδα ἑστὶ τοῦ Ἀργείου*. Such a reading implies extraordinary ignorance on the part of the ancient scribe, seeing that the name of Ageladas was far from unfamiliar.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed., p. 104, accepts the common view as laid down by Brunn, assigning for Ageladas a period of activity ranging from B.C. 500 to 460 or 450.

the artist had lasted well over a century, which, of course, is impossible. Yet even a later period than B.C. 455 is assigned to a statue of Herakles Alexikakos<sup>1</sup> by Ageladas, in the Attic Deme of Melite, erected to stay the great plague in B.C. 430. There is no reason to doubt that such a statue was made by him, but it has been shown to have been a not uncommon custom to identify any previous plague that had occurred with the great plague, and on this rational view the statement is worthless as to date. That Pliny assigns his principal activity to about B.C. 430 is a mistake which is usually passed over on account of the corrupt state of his text in this passage. Thus there is no need on the one hand to assume the existence of two sculptors of the name of Ageladas living at different times, nor, on the other, to suppose that the statue won by Anochos in B.C. 521 was not executed within at least a year or two after that date. An inscribed base<sup>2</sup> found at Olympia shows that a son of Ageladas, Argeiadas by name, had followed the profession of his father, and from the character of the writing it may be judged that the statue

<sup>1</sup> This statement occurs in the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Ran.* 504 (Dind.), given in Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 393.

<sup>2</sup> A fac-simile of the inscription is given in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1876, pl. 6, no. 1, and reads *Ἀτωρος : ἐποίησε : Ἀργείος καὶ Ἀργειάδας : ὁ Ἀγελάδα : τοῦ Ἀργείου*. Röhl, in the *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 37, would account for the singular *ἐποίησε* by making only one artist instead of two, and reading "there made it Atotos the Argive and Argeiad, son of Ageladas." Another inscription of the same archaic character, found

at Olympia, records the names of the two sculptors, Athanodoros and Asopodoros, who, it would seem from the manner in which the stones fit together, had made one figure or group, while Atotos and Argeiadas made another standing on the same basement, and the whole dedicated by a certain Praxiteles (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1878, p. 181). The writing is considerably older than that of the distich cited by Pausanias (v. 24. 2), and since recovered at Olympia (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, pl. 6, no. 3), which refers to B.C. 464.

by him and his fellow-worker, Atotos, had been finished by about B.C. 500.

To the school of Argos, as it existed shortly before the inroad of Xerxes into Greece, belonged also Aristomedon,<sup>1</sup> the sculptor of a series of colossal statues at Delphi, commissioned by the people of Phocis from the booty obtained in a war with the Thessalians, and along with him Glaukos and Dionysios, both of whom executed sculptures for a certain Smikythos, to be set up in Olympia in gratitude for the recovery of his son from an illness. This Smikythos, it appears from Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> became guardian of the children of Anaxilaus of Rhegium when he died (B.C. 476), but afterwards (B.C. 467) settled in Tegea, and then dedicated his many figures at Olympia. Pausanias,<sup>3</sup> however, referring to this statement, points out that in the inscriptions on the statues Smikythos, while giving Rhegium and Messene as his local habitations, says nothing of Tegea, whence it may be concluded that these sculptures had been completed previous to his settling there in B.C. 467, and possibly even previous to the earlier date (B.C. 476), when he took over the charge of the children of Anaxilaus. This then will be roundly the age of Glaukos and Dionysios. Whose pupils they were Pausanias had not learned. The sculptures in question consisted of two groups, the one representing Amphitrite, Poseidon and Hestia, by Glaukos, while the other, a series of smaller figures of Persephone, Aphrodite, Ganymedes and Artemis, the poets Homer and Hesiod, the deities Asklepios and Hygieia, a figure

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, who describes the war here mentioned (viii. 27), adds that the statues erected by the Phocians were colossal and stood round the tripod in front of the temple at Delphi. According to

Pausanias (x. i. 10) they represented Tellias, the seer, with the other leaders of the Phocians and local legendary heroes.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 170.

<sup>3</sup> v. 26. 4.

personifying athletic contests, Dionysos and Orpheus and a beardless Zeus, were the work of Dionysios. Other statues by him in this same series were said to have been carried off by Nero, and are unknown. Curiously enough the only other sculpture by him of which mention survives was also of diminutive size. It was a statue of a mare with a servant standing by her, erected in the Altis of Olympia by a certain Phormis of Mænalia, who had become great by his bravery and exploits in the service, first of Gelo and afterwards of Hiero of Syracuse. The pendant group was a horse with its groom, by an Æginetan sculptor, Simon. But the mare of Dionysios, though ungainly from its small size and from its tail being cut short, is credited with a quality not unlike that of the Mare of Darius.<sup>1</sup>

It is tempting to follow the Argive school on to its final triumph in the person of Polykleitos; but without first knowing the achievements of other early sculptors no just estimate could be formed of how by a combined energy and inspiration throughout the principal cities in Greece that type of ideal greatness was attained which pervaded the sculpture of all the great masters, whatever their individual peculiarities may have been.

In Sikyon there were now Kanachos and, less distinguished, his brother Aristokles. Strife rages as to their exact date. Meantime it may be observed concerning Kanachos, that like his predecessors he worked in bronze, cedarwood, gold and ivory, and, according to one authority,<sup>2</sup> marble, while like many of them also his reputation may be judged to have been wide from the

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iii. 85. Pausanias does not mention specifically the name of Darius, but his reference

to the *ἀνδρὸς μέγαν σοφίᾳ* bears the construction that he knew of it.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 41.



distant quarter which possessed the best known of his sculptures, the bronze statue of Apollo, called Philesios at Branchidæ, near Miletus. A counterpart of it, in size and form, was his cedar figure of Apollo<sup>1</sup> Ismenios in Thebes. Yet between them it is open to conjecture that there had been differences of detail, as for example, in the attributes of the god, since had the one been a replica of the other, Pausanias need not have added the remark that a person who had seen the one and knew its author would require no great skill to know that the other was from the same hand. Further, the description given by Pliny of the bronze statue at Branchidæ, though far from clear, distinctly implies that the stag held by the god was balanced by some minute mechanical process, which could not have been applied in a figure of wood. In such material it would have been more suitable for the statue to have held the stag or fawn on his extended palm, and this, in fact, is a description of an existing bronze statuette (Fig. 49),<sup>2</sup> which because of its resemblance to the design on certain coins of Miletus has been accepted as a copy of the bronze statue, notwithstanding the discrepancy between it and the language of Pliny. One or two engraved gems<sup>3</sup> confirm this language, and in view of this combined evidence it may be permitted to conjecture that the statuette in question is a copy from the Theban statue in wood, and that the corresponding design on the coins of Miletus may have been drawn from a replica

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ix. 10. 2 ; viii. 46. 3 ; i. 16. 3 ; Pliny, xxxiv. 75.

<sup>2</sup> The Payne-Knight bronze statuette in the British Museum. Compare Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 107, where it is engraved along with one of the coins of Miletus. The best publication of

this statuette is perhaps the heliograph of Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, pl. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Denkmäler*, no. 61. Another gem, with the same type of figure, exists in the collection of the British Museum.

of that figure obtained as a substitute for the bronze statue during the period when it was at Ecbatana, whither it had been carried off as spoil by Xerxes, or as others prefer, by Darius. On the other hand it was

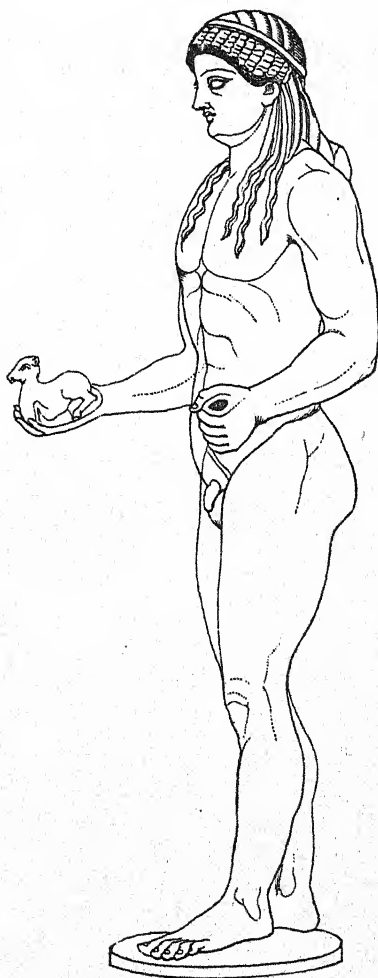


Fig. 49.—Bronze statuette in the British Museum. Supposed copy from the Apollo by Kanachos.

restored to Branchidæ by Seleukos Nikator, and might, therefore, have itself served as a model for the coins, which are of a comparatively late time. This, however,

cannot apply to the statuette, which, if modelled from the bronze, must have been executed during the few years when it was first accessible in Branchidæ, but if copied from the cedar statue in Thebes, may have been made at any time subsequent to Kanachos as long as the archaic manner prevailed among the minor artists who produced such small figures.

Darius, when he took Miletus (B.C. 494), and transplanted its surviving inhabitants to the mouth of the Tigris, at the same time ransacked<sup>1</sup> and set fire to the temple of Branchidæ, and the question arises whether the bronze of Kanachos was included in the booty. Nowhere is it expressly said to have been included. Yet, considering the fierceness of the contest and the terrors of the surrender, it is not surprising that a writer like Herodotus should have passed over a mere item of news such as this. On the other hand, Pausanias expressly states that the statue was carried off by Xerxes. But this implies that between the time of Darius and of Xerxes the temple at Branchidæ had been restored, that it was for this new temple that Kanachos made the statue, and that therefore the date of one, at least, of the sculptures by this artist can be approximately fixed. It implies further that Xerxes had in reality an opportunity of carrying off the statue, supposing it to have been at Branchidæ in his time. But the only opportunity of the kind which has been suggested was at the battle of Mykale (B.C. 479).<sup>2</sup> At Mykale, however, he was sig-

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, vi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn maintains his view, that Pausanias is right in giving the name of Xerxes, first at some length in the *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 32 (in the *Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad.* xi. pt. 3, 1868), and afterwards in the *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad.*, June, 1871, p. 522. The

opposite view is explained by Ulrichs in the *Rhein. Museum*, x. p. 7, and afterwards in his *Anfänge d. Griech. Künstlergeschichte*, Würzburg, 1871. There is no doubt considerable force in Brunn's argument when relying on Pausanias and Strabo, xiv. 634.

nally defeated, and even had it been convenient he was not likely to have thought of carrying off statues, though no doubt the contrary is always a possibility. Under the circumstances it seems advisable to assume that Pausanias employs the name of Xerxes by mistake, and that, in fact, the statue of Kanachos was carried off by Darius in B.C. 494, when he ransacked the temple. At what time previous to this it was executed there is no means of showing, but the probability is that it had not long existed.

As to the silence of Herodotus regarding a destruction of the temple at Branchidæ by Xerxes, which, in fact, is one of the strongest reasons for not accepting such an event, Brunn observes, first, that occurring as it would have done after the battle of Mykale it would have fallen to be described by Herodotus at the very end of his work, and may thus have escaped notice, and secondly, that the event is attested by Strabo and implied by Pausanias. Still, so complete is the picture drawn by Herodotus of the destruction of Miletus and the temple at Branchidæ by Darius, that it is impossible to conceive a revival of the temple in the few years between him and Xerxes, the more so since Darius had planted the district with Carian settlers. It is ingenious of Brunn, in connection with these Carians, to point out that an Oracle at Thebes returned an answer to a messenger from the army of Mardonius in the Carian tongue; but the skill of those who framed the responses of oracles was too singular a quality to build much on in the way of fact.

Of the other works of Kanachos mention is made of (1) a gold and ivory statue of Aphrodite<sup>1</sup> in Sikyon, seated, wearing the polos on her head, and holding in

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ii. 10. 4.



one hand a poppy, in the other an apple; (2) a group of boys riding race-horses,<sup>1</sup> apparently the monument of some victory in the races; and (3) a figure of a Muse,<sup>2</sup> which in an epigram is described along with a Muse by his brother Aristokles, and a third Muse by Ageladas, much as if the three formed one group by contemporary sculptors, as indeed is highly probable. As to the artistic style of Kanachos there is the evidence of Cicero<sup>3</sup> that his statues were too hard and rigid to be true to nature, harder even than those of Kalamis. This judgment is confirmed by the Payne-Knight bronze statuette, which at the same time shows clearly a large ideal conception of the human form.

A marble head in the British Museum has been published<sup>4</sup> as reflecting the manner of Kanachos, and there would, perhaps, be little reason to gainsay this if the head were distinctly admitted to be a late copy in what is called the archaistic stage of sculpture, towards which, in particular, the treatment of the curls over the brow, and the hair generally, decisively points. A certain largeness of style it undoubtedly possesses. The boys riding on horses show that the range of his study was not confined to the human figure, and his gold and ivory statue of Aphrodite is a proof that commissions of the highest order were assigned to him.

Except the Muse just mentioned no other work of Aristokles, the brother of Kanachos, is known; yet he is repeatedly spoken of as the master of other sculptors, and indeed, in a curious passage,<sup>5</sup> he is identified as the

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 75.

2nd ed. p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 395.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, vi. 3. 4. Παντίας . . . ὅς ἀπὸ Ἀριστοκλείους τοῦ Σικωνίου καταριθμωμένῳ τοῖς διδασκείας ἑβδομος ἀπὸ τούτου μαθητής.

<sup>3</sup> Brutus, 18. 70. Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem.

According to Pausanias, vi. 9. 1. the first pupil of Aristokles was

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, Griech. Plastik,

founder of a school of sculpture which for six generations acknowledged his initiatory leadership, his manner having been handed down from father to son, but whether in a direct line from the first pupil cannot be ascertained so long as two of the names of the series are wanting, and so long as it is unexplained why for those who are named separate birthplaces in Ægina and Chios are assigned. In point of merit he is said to have been little surpassed by his brother. That his first pupils were from Ægina, where Kallon might well have instructed them, is a fact which illustrates again a wide-spread acquaintance with, if not a strong feeling for, the works of special artists. Under no other circumstances but these is it conceivable that Greek sculpture should, in so short a time, have eliminated from its ideal the innumerable eccentricities of detail which must have originated in local isolation.

Fortunately, in dealing with the early sculpture of Ægina there is more than mere literary record to go by. There are the marble statues from the pediments of a temple discovered in 1811, and now preserved in Munich. The name of the artist is nowhere given, nor was the existence of the temple itself to be suspected from ancient writers, unless the words of Herodotus<sup>1</sup> could be held to apply to it, when he says that the Æginetans dedicated in their temple of Athene the prows of the galleys captured from Kydonia. This was in B.C. 523. But while there is every reason to believe that the temple now in ruins had been devoted to the honour of

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Synnoön, the second Ptolichos, a son of Synnoön. A little farther on he says that Pantias, whom he has already mentioned as the seventh from Aristokles, learned his art from his father, Sostratos. Thus we have (1) Aristokles, (2)

Synnoön, (3) Ptolichos, (4-5) unknown, (6) Sostratos, (7) Pantias, Cf. Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 81.

<sup>1</sup> iii. 59. τὰς πρώτας ἡκροτηρίας καὶ ἀνέθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱεὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ.

that goddess, it is justly argued on the other hand that the sculptures from it exhibit a mastery of art which could not be expected till half a century after that date. To meet this discrepancy, there are instances<sup>1</sup> of delay greater than this in completing the sculptured decorations of a temple; so that if the grounds be satisfactory on which the sculptures are from artistic style assigned to immediately after the battle of Salamis, where the Æginetans obtained the prize of bravery,<sup>2</sup> there would thus be presented an admirable opportunity of filling the pediments of the temple with statues, which by their action indirectly illustrated the deeds done at Salamis, B.C. 480. In the west pediment the goddess Athene mysteriously appears to stay the combat over the dead Patroklos,<sup>3</sup> the foremost fighter on the Greek side being Ajax, whom the Æginetans regarded as an ancestral hero. In the east pediment, incomplete as it is, a similar incident is represented, which in this case seems best explained as belonging to the expedition against Troy, led by Herakles, with the aid of Telamon, the father of Ajax, whose exploits also had shed a legendary glory on Ægina.

But now, if it be asked who, among the recorded

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<sup>1</sup> See Brunn, *Über das Alter der Æginetischen Bildwerke*, p. 4 (Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad., 1867), where a full discussion of the question will be found, his conclusion being that these sculptures form a kind of mythical parallel to the bravery of the Æginetans at Salamis, and that they are to be dated after this battle. It may be observed also that the dedication of the prows mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 59) need not have taken place immediately after B.C. 523, or as an alternative it could be

supposed that the temple mentioned by Herodotus may have been subsequently rebuilt. Overbeck, who previously had adopted an earlier date for the sculptures, fully agrees with Brunn. See his *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, viii. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Some have thought the fallen Greek warrior here to be not Patroklos, but Achilles. But this is now generally given up. See Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 132.

artists of Ægina, is the most likely either to have executed or to have influenced the execution of these sculptures, there can only be one answer. It could not have been Kallon; for he is associated with the previous generation, being a contemporary of Gitiadas,<sup>1</sup> and the sculptor of a figure of Persephone supporting a tripod at Amyklæ. Again he is generally described as coeval with Kanachos,<sup>2</sup> while elsewhere<sup>3</sup> his statues are compared in hardness of style with Etruscan sculpture. The same impression would be gathered from the only other sculpture of his of which a record survives, the image (xoanon) of Athene in Trœzen.<sup>4</sup> Sostratos and his son Ptolichos, already mentioned as pupils of Aristokles, were doubtless capable of such a task, though no tradition to that effect exists. There remains then the name of Onatas, of whose works two in particular are singularly suggestive of the pediment sculptures in Munich. The first was a group of ten statues at Olympia representing Greeks during the Trojan War casting lots as to who should meet the challenge of Hector to single combat,<sup>5</sup> and the second was a group of statues set up in Delphi by the Tarentines in commemoration of their victory over the Peucetians, in which group the combatants were ranged round the body of Opis, king of the Iapygians. Thus, in the one group the subject and in the other the composition of the figures, obviously recall the Ægina pediments. As to dates, it is to be observed that the chariot made by Onatas for Hiero of Syracuse, the father of Deinomenes, to perpetuate in Olympia the fame of his victory there, cannot have been executed later than B.C. 466, and may have been as early as B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iii. 18. 7.

Schriftquellen, no. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vii. 18. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, ii. 32. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, Inst. Orat. xii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, v. 25. 8; cf. Iliad,

7, quoted by Overbeck, Ant. vii. 175.



477; that his bronze statue of Herakles, commissioned by the people of Thasos, was in all probability made between the years B.C. 481-465, the period in which that island was free from Persian control, on the one hand, and Athenian supremacy on the other; and that the Tarentine group of combatants just mentioned appears to have been meant to celebrate a victory gained soon after the defeat which they had sustained from the same enemy in B.C. 473.<sup>1</sup> The other sculptures ascribed to him are a bronze Apollo<sup>2</sup> at Pergamon, wonderful for its size and artistic skill; a statue of Hermes<sup>3</sup> at Olympia, carrying a ram under his arm, in which figure he was assisted by Kalliteles, whom Pausanias thought to be his pupil or son, and a figure of the "black" Demeter<sup>4</sup> at Phigaleia, so called because of her black drapery. This curious figure, having the form of a woman except the head, which was that of a horse, with snakes and other creatures growing from it, and holding with one hand a dolphin, with the other a bird, is said to have been designed by Onatas partly from a description or copy and partly through a vision of the ancient image which had been destroyed by fire. The reproduction was in bronze, and as far as is known, he worked in no other material. This was "a generation after the Persian invasion," and must therefore have been a work of his later life. That he had worked for Athens itself previous to the Persian invasion is now known, as we have already said, from the finding of a base of a statue inscribed with his name on the Acropolis, and under circumstances which indicate that the statue, with others, had been injured or destroyed by the Persians.

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<sup>1</sup> For details of this combination of dates see Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, viii. 42. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, v. 27. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, viii. 42. 1.

The only ancient opinion of the merit of Onatas is conveyed by Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> in a passage which suffers from obscurity. Speaking of the bronze Herakles at Olympia, he says that he would place its author behind no one of the followers of Dædalos and of the Attic school. From various other passages it is clear that by the "Æginetan manner" he understood a rigidity and spareness of form approaching that of Egyptian statuary, and that generally "Æginetan" was a current equivalent with him for "archaic," whereas "Attic" represented the highest art. In one place,<sup>2</sup> indeed, he distinctly classes the "so-called Æginetan sculptures" with the "oldest Attic." Elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> when describing the rams in Corsica, he observes that they were in form such as if an Æginetan sculptor had made them, except that on the breast the hair was too shaggy for Æginetan art. To judge from what remains of the sculpture of Ægina, this comparison can only mean that the rams in question were slender and spare in form, belonged in fact to the class of wild sheep, not unfrequently represented in archaic terracotta reliefs of Phrixos<sup>4</sup> crossing the Hellespont, and still existing in Cyprus and elsewhere. While then it would seem that he employed the term Attic for Greek sculpture from the time of Pheidias, and that by Æginetan he understood generally archaic art, there still remains the difficulty of fathoming what he wished to express by the phrase "followers of Dæda-

<sup>1</sup> As regards Onatas, Pausanias is the only ancient authority, excepting a reference in an epigram, Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 424. The words of Pausanias are (v. 25, 7), Τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὁμῶς καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Ἀιγινάϊας, οὐδενὸς ὑστερον θήσομε τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου

τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 5. 3. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε τοῖς καλουμένοις Αἰγινάϊοις οὔτε τῶν Ἀττικῶν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις ἐμφερές, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, ἀκριβῶς ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτιον.

<sup>3</sup> x. 17. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Schoene, Gr. Reliefs, pl. 30, fig. 124.

los." The reference might well be to the school of Sikyon, founded by Dipœnos and Skyllis, who though not the only, were yet to all appearance the greatest of the Dædalides, and thus Pausanias would be held to place Onatas not behind any sculptor of the Sikyonian or Attic schools.<sup>1</sup> This would be high and perhaps unreasonable praise, were there any grounds for supposing that Pausanias was capable of appreciating Athenian art as it is still to be seen in the sculptures of the Parthenon. Of them he has scarcely a word to say, and certainly no word of commendation. Besides, it is nothing unusual now, and was not more so in antiquity, to find writers who preferred the spare, finely elaborated forms of Æginetan statues to the perhaps less accurate superficially but more grandly conceived beings of the school of Pheidias. But in fairness it must be admitted that the work of Onatas may have greatly transcended the surviving sculptures of Ægina. His name is associated with them only because he is known to have executed large and similar compositions, while among his townsmen and contemporaries, Glaukias, for example, though well known as a sculptor, and doubtless more than equal to the task, is passed over. The name of Glaukias survives to this day in Olympia.<sup>2</sup> It was he who made the chariot group<sup>3</sup> to commemorate the victory of Gelo,

<sup>1</sup> It is true that according to the legend Dædalos himself was Athenian by birth, and that tradition mentions the Athenian Endœos as his pupil; but in this there is no sufficient reason for supposing "the followers of Dædalos" to have been specially Athenian sculptors, when so far as is known of them they were mainly established elsewhere in Greece, in particular at Sikyon. This ques-

tion has been very fully discussed by W. Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Cesterreich*, v. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Inscribed on a base found in the German excavations (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1878, p. 142) may be read in archaic letters ΜΑΥΚΙΑΣ : ΑΙΝΝΑΤΑΣ : Ε[Ρ]ΟΙΕΣΕ.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, viii. 42. 4, says that this race of Gelo's was won in B.C. 489, and that, therefore, Gelo

the king of Syracuse, in the races at Olympia, and it may have been through his success in this undertaking that subsequently Hiero, the brother of Gelo, when requiring an artist for a similar purpose, turned to Ægina and enlisted Onatas. Besides this there were to be seen at Olympia three statues of victors from the hand of Glaukias, of which one<sup>1</sup> bore on its base two verses by the poet Simonides, telling that the person represented was Philon of Corcyra, the son of Glaukos, and winner twice of boxing competitions at Olympia. Another was the statue of Theagenes,<sup>2</sup> a Thasian, who was victor twice, in B.C. 481 and B.C. 477. The third was Glaukos,<sup>3</sup> the Karystian, in the attitude of sparring, in which he was proficient above all of his time. That these sculptures were all of bronze may be taken as certain; equally so that they were modelled, cast and finished in Ægina, the fame of which for its bronze work consisted, as Pliny<sup>4</sup> says, not in its possessing this material naturally, but in the skill with which it was wrought. From the dates just quoted, compared with that generally agreed on for the Ægina sculptures in Munich, it will be seen that Glaukias would then be in the full swing of his activity. Contemporary with him was Anaxagoras, whom the combined Greeks who had fought at Plataeae selected to make in memory of this battle a colossal bronze statue of Zeus<sup>5</sup> to be set

was not then king of Syracuse, the throne of which he did not obtain till B.C. 485. The text says literally B.C. 491, but that would render his argument futile, and besides B.C. 485 is otherwise known as the year when Gelo became king of Syracuse. Cf. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, under this year. Hiero succeeded him B.C. 478.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 9. 3. Simonides

died B.C. 467, and the statue must thus have been made before then.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vi. 11. 2. Part of the base of this statue has been found. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, vi. 10. 1.

<sup>4</sup> xxxiv. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, v. 23. 1. The size of the statue (10 cubits) and the fact of its being of bronze are known from Herodotus, ix. 81.



up in Olympia and to bear on its base the names of the several States so engaged. Possibly about the same time lived also Aristonos,<sup>1</sup> who made for the Metapontians a figure of Zeus, placed in the Altis at Olympia, holding in one hand the eagle, in the other the thunderbolt, and wearing a wreath of lilies; Serambos,<sup>2</sup> who sculptured the figure of a winner in the games for boys; and Theopropos,<sup>3</sup> the sculptor of a bronze bull sent to Delphi by the people of Corcyra.

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, v. 22. 4, says he knew neither the date of Aristonos nor his master.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vi. 10. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, x. 9. 2. A companion figure of a bull, also in bronze, was sent by the Corcyraeans to Olympia. It was the work of Philesios, an Eretrian (Pausanias,

vi. 27. 6). The base of it has been found, and bears the name of this artist in archaic letters belonging to the beginning of the 5th century B.C. (Arch. Zeitung, 1876, p. 226). If the bull by Theopropos was made at the same time, then he is rightly placed here as a contemporary of Glaukias.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE SCULPTURES OF ÆGINA, NOW IN MUNICH.

Difference between the two pediments—West pediment—Colour—Composition—Theories of arrangement—Explanation of subject—Types of figures derived from study of athletes—Details of figures—Objections to general opinion of central group—Identification of the other figures—East pediment—Subject—Sculptures more advanced in style than in west pediment—Figure of Herakles—Composition—Theories of difference between the two pediments—The finding of the sculptures.

THE marble statues surviving from the temple of Athena in Ægina stood grouped in the two pediments or gables, principally in the one facing the west, which, at the back of the building, and therefore of secondary importance, appears to have maintained even in its sculpture a character in some degree consistent with its position. The difference lies not merely in artistic merit, but may be seen in the more obvious points of scale and proportions in the figures. Meantime, without following out the comparison, it may be well to look to the West pediment (pl. 7) alone for the sake of certain general observations which arise on examining each and all of the groupings<sup>1</sup> of it that have been proposed.

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<sup>1</sup> Cockerell, *The Temples of Ægina and Bassæ*, on pl. 15, gives the usual restoration with eleven figures; but on pl. 16 he gives another view in which two figures are introduced, one on each side,

bending forward to seize the fallen warrior. Both, however, are placed behind the foremost warrior on each side. In the vignette to his work only one of these figures appears, but two additional com-

In the first place, while the warriors on the left carry their shields in the background and so present a full form to the spectator, those on the opposite side, preserving a strict truthfulness to fact, wear the shield on the left arm, and in this way conceal themselves largely from view, the immediate effect of which is that the whole composition stands unpleasantly divided into two not sufficiently uniform parts. On painted vases,<sup>1</sup> where scenes of a similar spirit occur, many devices are employed to obviate such a result. But the ingenuity of the vase painters need not have been a law to the sculptor, for this reason especially, that he was free to brighten and enrich the now objectionable shields with any variety of colours he chose. That he did so is abundantly proved from the remains of colouring<sup>2</sup> observable when the marbles were found. But as no brightness of colour could ever have made these shields transparent, nothing remains to be imagined except that in the system of colouring introduced throughout the composition, the shields of the other warriors, though now in the back ground, were brought prominently forward so as to produce a general effect of balance and uniformity. The Athena of the west pediment had colour on her ægis, red on the foot of her drapery, and colour of some kind on the straps of her

batants are added, one on each side towards the centre. Müller, *Denkmäler*, pl. 6-7, gives this pediment with the usual eleven figures, as does also Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 815, and Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, fig. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Such designs occur most frequently on the shallow kylikes of a severe red-figure style, the rounded surface of which, with the sides vanishing from sight, presented just such a limitation of

design as in the triangular pediment of a temple, where also all the action must concentrate on the middle point.

<sup>2</sup> For the remains of colour and of additions in metal, such as spears and helmets, or parts of helmets, see Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, München, 1873. Blouet, *Expédition de la Morée*, iii. pl. 55, gives a coloured view of this pediment.

sandals. On the Athena of the east pediment was a cherry-red colour. Some of the helmets had blue, with red on the crests. The interiors of the shields were dark red, and from the remaining concentric circles on them, it would seem that colours had been applied in contrasting bands. The plinths of the figures were red. The flesh appears to have had only a faint tint, while such details as eyes and lips are picked out with colour. But no colour was found on the hair. A very large number of small holes remain to show that by their means bronze weapons had been made fast to the figures. On the ægis of Athena in the west pediment had been a gorgoneion of metal, while what remains of the corresponding Athena in the east pediment shows that she had worn metal earrings.

The composition of the West pediment as a whole tells a simple story. A warrior, foremost in the fight, has fallen with a mortal wound. On the one side is a rush to save, on the other side a rush to seize him, and at the critical moment, when both forces almost meet, the goddess Athena appears, not to part them in terror as Zeus might have done, but probably to throw over the fallen hero and his friends a sudden mist, which the successful enemy could not penetrate. The wounded warrior has fallen backwards in the direction of the Greeks on the left. For this and other reasons, including the intervention of Athena, he is clearly a Greek, and that his body was saved is expressed by her presence. With these facts indirectly conveyed, there remained as the chief task of the artist to show how critical was the occasion, by combining the forces on both sides so as to express a terrific onset, and it may be said that whatever arrangement of the statues is most consistent with this point of view must be the best. The greater the masses of armed men, and the more impetuous the charge, the better.



As regards the masses on each side, the latest restoration<sup>1</sup> of this pediment has the advantage of introducing a larger number of combatants than had ever before been proposed, and proceeding as it does on the basis of measurements made from the existing fragments, it carries with it a degree of probability which can only be lessened by a more successful appropriation of these fragments than has yet been made.

At first and for a long time, notwithstanding the fact that one of the discoverers<sup>2</sup> spoke of there being parts of no less than thirty distinct statues to be distributed in the two pediments, it was usual to be content with only twenty-two, of which eleven were theoretically allotted to each. Altogether, however, only fifteen complete figures had been restored (by Thorwaldsen and Wagner),

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<sup>1</sup> Konrad Lange, *Die Composition der Ägineten* (Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. 1878). The arrangement proposed by Lange has been strongly objected to by Dr L. Julius (Fleckeisen's *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1880, pp. 1-22), who prefers to limit the figures much as Prachov had done. On the other hand Overbeck, in the new edition (3rd) of his *Griech. Plastik*, takes up the defence of Lange's proposal. As regards the corrosion of the surface of the statues, and the question whether it was caused by exposure to weather during the time when the figures stood in the temple, or whether it is the effect of lying in the soil, I may remark that any one who visits Ægina will see that the intensely corrosive atmosphere has reduced much of the stone of the island to the appearance of cinders, and that the present condition of the temple is such as to suggest an action of

the weather so impartial as to render doubtful any theory of arrangement based on it unless supported at the same time by other circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> Cockerell, *Temples of Ægina and Bassæ*, p. 34, who says also that from the manner in which the sculptures were scattered among the ruins, it was impossible to judge from the place of finding whether a statue belonged originally to the west or the east pediment. It may here be said that the various designs for a restoration proposed by Cockerell in the work in question differ too much from each other to be acquitted of being all to some degree fanciful. It should be said however that in the *Journal of Science and the Arts*, vi. p. 328, he speaks of there being little doubt of the correctness of the restoration, since the figures were found in positions suggestive of their original places.

and of these ten showed themselves to belong to the west, the other five to the east pediment. In both sets there was a fallen warrior for the centre, and from unquestionable remains it was evident that the goddess Athena had appeared on his behalf in the east pediment as well as in the west, and that in both, the composition of the groups must have, in the main, resembled each other. When, therefore, among the five statues of the east pediment there was seen to be one in the act of bending forward to lay hold of the fallen hero in the middle, it was accepted as a necessity that there must have been a similar figure in the west pediment, though there were not remains enough for its reconstruction. Thus, on the theory of a strict uniformity between the two ends of the temple, there were one figure on the west and six on the east to be restored out of the fragments, or failing them, from imagination. But a few years ago<sup>1</sup> it was proposed, on the ground of a fresh investigation of these numerous limbs, to introduce two more figures, one for each pediment, in the act of bending forward to seize the fallen hero, who would then appear to be receiving exactly the same attention from both sides. Were not this question to be decided by the actual fragments, the natural feeling would be to regard such a proposal as carrying uniformity too far, and even with all respect for the laboriousness with which they have been measured, it would scarcely be possible to take an attitude of complete acquiescence. Since then, however, four additional<sup>2</sup> combatants have been added

<sup>1</sup> Prachov, *Annali d. Inst. Arch.*, 1873, pp. 140-162, pls. o and p, q, and *Monumenti d. Inst. Arch.*, ix. pl. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Lange, *Die Composition der Ægineten*, pl. 3, figs. 2-3. In the vignette to his work showing the West pediment, Cockerell also

introduced two additional combatants; but, as Lange justly observes, without assigning any reason except such as may be gathered from his belief that there had been altogether at least thirty statues. His design was thus merely an effort to introduce as

by the process, to describe it in general terms, of proving the existence of one and, from a law of uniformity, inferring the other three.

Apart, however, from the uncertainty which will always exist as to whether these measurements have been correctly reasoned upon, and whether the further inferences are in all cases justifiable, it is not to be denied that this, the latest restoration of the west pediment, presents a scene of animation and impetus fairly suited to illustrate the last rush in of the forces on both sides, as compared with the previous arrangement of only eleven figures. It may be that in this respect it is overdone, if the still archaic character of the work be considered, and apparently it was from caution on this point that for so long a time no attempt was made to increase the number of the combatants. Nothing farther, in fact, had been proposed than to change the archer on both sides to the second place from the end instead of the third,<sup>1</sup> which was previously assigned to him. Yet this simple change, when once proved to be not only admissible but more accurate, rendered conspicuous the inclination and fol-

many of them as possible consistent with artistic effect. Much has been said of late on the question whether and how far the worn surface of the marbles can be made to determine their respective places in the pediments, some declaring the wear to be that of weather, others the effect of lying in the earth. As regards the weather, the temple as it stood in January, 1880, when I saw it, showed that the sea air bites into the stone with more effect than would well suit the theory of Brunn.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Denkmäler*, pls. 6, 7; Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 815;

Blouet, *Expédition de la Morée*, iii. pl. 58, and Cockerell, in photographic plate (1) to his work, *Temples at Ægina and Bassæ*. Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 50, was the first to propose this change, on the ground that the proper place for the archers was at the extreme ends of the combat, and that in fact these two figures, if correctly restored, would fit into the narrower space. Brunn, *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1869, followed, arguing that the change was not only practicable, but an immense gain to the artistic effect of the whole composition.

lowing up of the combatants towards the centre, which before had been greatly reduced in effect by the interposition of the archers. It was then seen that the figures which on each side appear to have fallen on one knee, are to be understood as arriving with a rush, and making a last thrust with such force as to bring them down to this position. Therefore they must be as near the centre as possible. It was felt also that this crowding in of armed men on each side might be intensified with advantage, and hence fresh searches were made among the broken limbs, with the result, as has been said, of introducing first an additional figure on the left, bending towards the fallen hero, and secondly an additional warrior rushing in at full length on each side. To make space for them the statues must be moved closer together, and, what is a very obvious improvement, the fallen hero must lie more in front of the goddess, though still with his head towards the Greeks. Not so much, however, can be said for the crowding of the figures, which, in fact, is so great that they advance nearly two lines deep, an arrangement which requires to be justified by better analogies than those that are drawn from painted vases. Nor is the author of it entitled to defend the excessive and monotonous uniformity between the two sides of his design by proclaiming the poverty of the sculpture compared with the statues of the Parthenon<sup>1</sup> as sufficient excuse, or by assuming, as regards his line of figures two deep, that the idea may have originated under the influence of painting in perspective, an art which must first be proved to have existed then. Under these circumstances many will doubtless adhere to the older grouping, with its more simple and obviously more beautiful flow of lines, of which the principal ones

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<sup>1</sup> Lange, *Composition der Ægineten*, p. 69.



converge strongly towards the centre, while a secondary series, arising mainly from the position of the legs of the figures, connects the combatants into a scheme of composition which may be compared to an organic growth.<sup>1</sup>

It has already been stated that according to the most probable explanation, the subject of the West pediment represents a stage in the great combat between Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroklos, described in the *Iliad*.<sup>2</sup> An accurate illustration of Homer it is not by any means; for he, it will be remembered, describes Patroklos as being spoiled of his borrowed armour early in the fight, and long before the goddess Athena, wrapped in a winter cloud, joined the Greeks to stir them in another effort. For this purpose she assumed the form of the aged Phœnix, but in the sculpture she appears as a goddess, and Patroklos retains his armour. Making too much of these discrepancies, some have thought the fallen hero to be Achilles.<sup>3</sup> But taking into account that on the eve of their greatest battle the Greeks,<sup>4</sup> after praying to their gods, sent solemnly to Salamis for images of Ajax and Telamon to support their courage; that in this battle the palm of bravery was awarded to

<sup>1</sup> Brunn (*Composition der Ägäischen Giebelgruppen*, in the *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad.*, 1868) develops with great fulness and beauty of expression the artistic principle of the composition. Pl. 7 is here reproduced from Cockerell, *Journal of the Royal Institution*, who says, vi. p. 333, "There is a fine contrast in the attitudes and the crossing of the different limbs."

<sup>2</sup> xvii. The appearance of Athena on the scene is described, v. 554-555.

<sup>3</sup> Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i.

p. 44, following Thiersch, *Amalthea*, i. p. 156, who appears to have first drawn attention to the death of Achilles as described in the *Æthiopis* as the probable subject of these sculptures. Cockerell, *Journal of the Royal Institution*, vi. p. 334, in support of the combat of Hector and Ajax, gives an interesting letter of Colonel Leake's with reference to this and similar apparent discrepancies between poets and artists in Greece.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, viii. 64.

the soldiers of Ægina,<sup>1</sup> and that in all probability these sculptures were executed immediately thereafter, the opinion has been received with more general favour, which describes the West pediment as illustrating the bravery of Ajax conspicuous in the combat over Patroklos. Whether this interpretation be correct or not, the scene is clearly one in which mortals, or more accurately, legendary mortals, are engaged. The goddess Athena can hardly be called an exception, since she presents more the appearance of an ancient image, so much so, indeed, as almost to suggest that the fallen warrior had in a manner not unusual in battle scenes,<sup>2</sup> sought the protection of such a figure, in which case she would have corresponded to the draped statue of Athena<sup>3</sup> in Troy, and would thus indicate more definitely the locality of the combat. Analogy, however, requires that for such a purpose the figure should stand on a pedestal to be clearly recognisable as a statue, and on the whole, perhaps, her position in the pediment may be best described as a rendering of the divine presence, which differs only in being more complete from the representation of the presence of Apollo in this same series of combats,<sup>4</sup> when Hector, urged by him, fought Menelaos over the dead body of Euphorbos. This scene occurs on an archaic painted vase<sup>5</sup> from Cameiros in Rhodes, having the names of the heroes inscribed, and all that is to be seen of the god is a pair of eyes, almost concealed under volutes, looking down on the battle.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, viii. 93.

<sup>2</sup> The protection of such a figure is sought by a Greek woman in the fight with the Centaurs on the frieze of Phigaleia (Museum Marbles, iv. pl. 10), and by Trojans in the scenes from the war of Troy on a vase in the British

Museum (Bullet. Arch. Napol., 1858, p. 145). On the Meidias vase in the British Museum occurs a similar xoanon.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad, vi. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad, xvii. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Engraved in Salzmann's *Nécropole de Camirus*, pl. 6.

It will be remembered from the records and from existing specimens, that early sculpture dealt mainly with the legendary deeds of heroes, dreading apparently the gods, and that it sought to present these legends with a forcible, if not a coarse, realism, such as would arrest the ordinary spectator. Advancing further, and being largely occupied with statues of victorious athletes, it necessarily lost much of the former realism of action, but retained the realism of form. In this stage of the art came the sculptures of Ægina; first of all those of the West pediment, to which so far attention has been almost exclusively directed. The sculptor's model has been an athlete,<sup>1</sup> or rather an ideal type of athlete, which in the process of idealizing has suffered from that tendency to spareness of form which, as has already been shown, caused the term "Æginetan" to be a synonym in art for "archaic." Wherever possible there is a desire that the bones may be seen through the skin at the knee joints, in the chest and ribs, between which and the upper part of the stomach is drawn a markedly formal boundary line, recalling in this respect the Strangford Apollo,<sup>2</sup> but showing a considerable advance on the Apollo of Orchomenos and the smaller marble statue of the same class in the British Museum (pl. 2.) and fig. 16. The width across the hips is too small, and in point of proportion the legs are, if any-

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<sup>1</sup> There would be no scarcity of finely formed athletes in the days when Pindar (born B.C. 518 and alive in B.C. 487) sang so often the victories of Æginetans at the Nemean, Isthmian, and Pythian games, and the date of Pindar would roundly coincide with the period of these sculptures. See his Nemea, iii.-viii., celebrating six different Æginetans, the Isthmia,

iv., v., and vii., and the Pythia, viii. Throughout these odes is constantly to be heard the praise of the glory of the Æakidæ. The fifth Nemean ode begins "I am not a sculptor," οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ'.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn has pointed this out in a very interesting analysis of the structure of these figures in the *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad.*, 1872, p. 532.

thing, too long, while the arms to the same minute degree err in the other direction. The muscles are given with studious attention to nature, and undoubtedly everywhere the aim is to be correct, precise and refined. But the cost at which this is obtained is the loss of that vitality which should breathe through every statue, not to mention the higher element of ideal beauty of form. In the head, the eyes are forward and slanting a little, in correspondence with which the curves of the mouth turn gently up, the lips are full, and the chin strongly pronounced. Where beards occur they are blocked out in the marble, and indicated as hair only by superficial lines. The expression of face varies little from a conventional type, suggestive of a model athlete perhaps more than anything else. The hair on the forehead is arranged in rows of spiral curls, like the hair on the body of an Assyrian bull. For the present it should be stated that these remarks do not strictly apply to the figure bending forward on the Trojan or right side, because it is merely a cast from the figure on the opposite pediment, introduced where it is on the ground of certain fragments and for the sake of uniformity. Curiously he has no armour. Nor has he the excuse of the two figures lying in the extremities of the scene, since they have been struck down and doubtless at the same time spoiled, consistently with Homeric usage. Were his identity to be determined from other ancient works of art, it might be a question whether he is not Thanatos (Death), whom Automedon<sup>1</sup> in this particular scene describes as reaching for Patroklos, assisted by Moira (Fate). It is true that in works of art where Thanatos and with him Hypnos (Sleep) appear, they are usually engaged in

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<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xviii. 478. Νῦν δ' ἄν Θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κελάνει.



lifting the dead warrior,<sup>1</sup> and that further they have wings, which the statue in question had not apparently possessed. There are thus difficulties on both sides, but in choosing between them it should be borne in mind that if this figure is an unarmed Trojan, he is at least advancing to do precisely what elsewhere Thanatos does, and moreover must be regarded as attempting to perform an action which would not add glory to the combat; that is to say, to spoil the fallen hero of his armour, if not to drag away his body. The figures lying in each extremity are supposed to have been already spoiled, though it must be confessed that on the whole they have not much the appearance of warriors. They are large of form, and represent a different type of being to a great extent. Both have their hair bound with a narrow diadem, and falling in long masses down the back. Possibly when a helmet was worn this mass of hair was gathered up under it. In the manner of wearing the helmet a difference will be observed among the statues of this pediment. The two nearest the centre have it set back on the head to show the hair over the brow, while the next two, on both sides, wear it well down over the forehead.

Although the entire scene is in all probability associated with the death of Patroklos and the valour of Ajax when opposed to Hector on that occasion, it is not possible to identify positively any of the other figures. Behind Ajax the supporting combatant may be Ajax Oileus, and the bowman, Teucer, while behind Hector, on the Trojan side, may be Æneas, and as to the archer there need, perhaps, be no hesitation in accepting him as Paris, though the *Iliad* does not introduce him in this particular scene. He wears a Phrygian cap and a

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, a red-figure kylix in the British Museum, made by Pamphaios. Vase Catalogue, no. 834.

dress of leather fitting close to his whole figure, reaching to the wrists and ankles, and elastic enough to show in places the prominent joints. He is young and beautiful. Young, also, if not so careless and beautiful, is Teucer, the corresponding archer, whose dress is a cuirass worn over a linen chiton, the skirt of which is seen lying in plain folds of the same artificial and unnatural formation as in the drapery of Athena. His head is a modern restoration,<sup>1</sup> and doubtless ought to have had a dress more suited to an archer, resembling in fact the cap of Paris. The head of Athena is certainly vigorous, and it may be noticed that her hair is not arranged over the brow in spiral curls as in the male figures, but is drawn in regular wavy lines.

<sup>1</sup> The following are the measurements and restorations of the figures in this pediment as given by Brunn in the official *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, München, 1873, p. 85 fol. (1) *Athena*, ht. 1.68 metres (nearly equal 5 ft. 6½ in.); restored are the nose, thumb, and two tips of the fingers of left hand, the whole right hand, parts of ægis, crest, and shield. (2) *Patroklos*, ht. 1.44 metres; restored are the neck, right shoulder, part of breast, fingers of both hands and toes, excepting the great toes. (3) *Ajax*, ht. 1.39 metres; restored are the head, right shoulder, and part of breast and ribs adjoining, fingers of left hand, greater part of shield, part of calf of left leg, toes of left foot, and forepart of right foot. (5) *Ajax Oileus*, ht. 0.935 metre; restored are crest of helmet, right hand, left forearm, left foot, and forepart of right foot. (5) *Teucer*, ht. 1.03 metres; restored are the head, left forearm, right arm from

middle of upper arm, most of the straps in front of cuirass, and left leg from below knee. (6) *Wounded Greek*, l. 1.59 metres; restored are tip of nose, right forearm, left hand, right leg from knee to ankle, and toes of both feet. (7) *Hector*, ht. 1.43 metres; restored are tip of nose, crest of helmet, half of right forearm, a third of shield, and both legs entirely. (8) *Æneas*, ht. 0.91 metre; restored are the head, right shoulder, left arm from middle of upper arm, left knee with half of thigh and forepart of foot. (9) *Paris*, ht. 1.04 metres; restored are top of cap, nose, tip of chin, part of fingers on both hands and forepart of left foot. (10) *Wounded Trojan*, l. 1.37 metres; restored are the head, left arm, several pieces of right forearm, and both legs from knees downwards. The height of each of the two draped figures which stood on the acroteria of the pediment is given at 0.84 metre.

As regards the East, or principal pediment of the temple, two things are generally agreed upon. First, that the subject represented was the war made upon Laomedon, king of Troy, by Herakles, assisted by Telamon, the father of the greater Ajax; and secondly, that the sculptures are of an order of merit much superior to those just described. Altogether five statues with a number of fragments have been preserved, and in determining the subject much importance, perhaps too much, has been attached to the headdress worn by the archer, which from its taking the form of the skin of a lion's head, has been judged as sufficient to identify him with Herakles, notwithstanding that the position he occupies far from the centre deprives him of the prominence which he holds in the legend. Accepting him, however, as Herakles, and examining the figure by the standard of art observed in the statues of the west pediment, it will be seen at once that he is a finer creation, both in form and in attitude, while a detailed inspection will show a corresponding advance, nowhere more obviously, perhaps, than in the rendering of the linen chiton worn under his cuirass, especially where it projects, all crumpled, under the arm. In the figure of Teucer, who wears the same dress in the other pediment, there is no sign of the chiton here, while, as has already been said, the folds, where they are visible, are of a very artificial form. Those of Herakles are by no means perfect, but they clearly aim at reality with considerable success. His cuirass itself is beautifully enriched, that of Teucer is quite plain. Were there nothing to go by but this greater perfection in details, that might be explained away by assuming special care to have been directed to the sculptures of the chief front. The superior excellence<sup>1</sup> of the forms is, however, general, bearing witness

<sup>1</sup> Brunn has analysed very fully in the two pediments in the the artistic differences of the statues *Berichte d. k. bayer. Akad.*, May,

to a sculptor of higher gifts. Not that he is always more advanced in details, since the helmet of the warrior on the Trojan side, lying wounded in the corner, is no more organically distinct from the head under it than the helmets of the opposite pediment. The heads of the warrior lying dead in the centre, and of the Trojan striding towards him, are restored, and cannot be used for this comparison. The rigid outline marking off the bones of the chest and ribs from the stomach has disappeared, the veins along the arms come into view, the limbs are of a larger mould, and where a beard occurs it is rendered more distinctly as a separate mass, though doubtless still only superficial in the indication of the hair of which it is composed. In point of facial expression it is not easy to detect the improvement observed by some, but a glance of comparison will show that the attitude of the warrior lying in the left corner is singularly expressive of the deadliness of his wounds, while the corresponding figures in the west pediment are, as has already been said, barely recognisable as wounded. The fallen hero in the middle is again a figure of great beauty, and not less so he who bends forward to spoil him of his helmet, if the recent<sup>1</sup> restoration be correct.

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1867, with the result that he would ascribe those of the west pediment to an older sculptor, corresponding to Kallon, and those of the east pediment to a younger artist, corresponding to Onatas, who with a fresh impulse had broken through the old traditional principles developed through working mainly in bronze, and had accommodated himself to the new material, marble. This he repeats in his *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*

(München, 1873), pp. 80-81, maintaining that the artists of both pediments had worked simultaneously, and that shortly after B.C. 480. Others had sought to account for the difference of the two pediments by supposing the sculptures of the one to have been executed some time after those of the other.

<sup>1</sup> Prachov, *Monumenti d. Inst. Arch.*, ix. pl. 57, and *Annali*, 1873, pp. 140-162, pls. o and p, q.



According to the arrangement just referred to, there must have been another similar figure bending forward on the left side. Further, the archer Herakles being now definitely placed on the right wing, mainly owing to a certain degree of carelessness in the sculpture of the side of the figure thus withdrawn from view, it has been found necessary to construct another archer to balance him on the left wing. The statue striding to the centre, if he could be made to stand on the right wing as an ally of Herakles, would, no doubt, represent Telamon, and is often so named. But if it be necessary, as seems to be the case, to keep him on the opposite wing, then he must be a Trojan hero, and a similar figure must be made up to meet him in the great final combat. Beyond this, actual restoration has not yet gone. But a blank space has been left at each side, inviting the construction of two more combatants, corresponding with Ajax Oileus and Æneas in the west pediment. The dead warrior in the middle lies to the Greek side and doubtless was a Greek, but his present attitude and the restoration of his legs call for improvement. The goddess Athena, again, looked down upon him. All that remains of her, so far as has yet been pointed out,<sup>1</sup> are the head, part of her left arm with traces of the ægis, and part of her left foot. From these and other fragments much may no doubt be done in the way both of constructing new figures and in correcting the restorations<sup>2</sup> actually made in the five statues.

<sup>1</sup> Lange, *Die Composition der Ägineten*, p. 21, goes very fully into the identification of the fragments of this pediment, and indeed of the fragments generally. Blouet, *Expédition de la Morée*, iii. devotes pls. 58-64 to the east pediment, the last three plates being occupied by fragments. To

the west pediment he assigns pls. 65-69.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the measurements and restorations of these five statues as given by Brunn in his official *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (München, 1873), p. 83. Beginning at the left corner, (1) *Trojan Warrior*, lying wounded,

The clearly defined difference in the sculptures belonging respectively to these two pediments has led, as has already been remarked, to various suggestions for its explanation; either that the statues had been executed at periods sufficiently apart to admit of a distinct but natural development of the art of sculpture, and therefore necessarily by two separate artists, as to which it may be observed that such a view of the case involves the incredible postponement of the east or principal sculptures after the less important west pediment had been complete. Or, it is argued, that one sculptor may have executed both sets of statues, improving as he went on, which again would imply that he began with the back pediment. Others have supposed that with one sculptor in the capacity of main designer and superintendent, such as that exercised by Pheidias with reference to the Parthenon, the actual execution of the two pediments might have been left to artists less gifted and, therefore, probably very pronounced in the manner of the schools in which they had been trained. No doubt in the Parthenon sculptures there are extraordinary inequalities, often reflecting no great credit on the sculptor; but here in the Ægina marbles, the differences of manner appear to be exactly characteristic of the two pediments, and not the casual result of employing

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l. 1.68 metres; restored are the crest of his helmet, four fingers of left hand, four toes of left foot, whole of right leg from middle of thigh downwards, and a great part of shield. (2) *Trojan striding* to centre, ht. 1.47 metres; restored are his head, both hands, whole of left leg, right thigh, and almost the entire shield. (3) *Dead Hero*, in centre, l. 1.57 metres; restored are his head, whole of right arm,

left arm up to elbow, shield, right leg, left leg from knee down.

(4) *Greek bending* towards centre, ht. 0.97 metre; restored are his

nose, both arms, greater part of right foot, and the whole of left foot.

(5) *Herakles*, ht. 0.79 metre; restored are the tip of his nose, left hand, right arm, part of right foot, left leg from below knee, several straps of his cuirass, and part of his back under the left shoulder.

here or there incompetent assistance. Lastly, there is a theory<sup>1</sup> which up to a certain point proceeds, not on conjecture, but from an examination of the stylistic differences, and concludes that the statues of the west or back pediment were from the hand of a sculptor who had grown old and inveterate in a more or less rigid manner, such as may be ascribed to the school of Kallon, while those of the front were the work of a young fresh artist imbued with new impulses, such as Onatas may have originated in Ægina. Both these artists may be supposed to have worked simultaneously. Whether this theory be strictly correct or not, there can be no question but that the artistic differences are just such as would arise under these circumstances, though not necessarily under these circumstances alone. The pediment sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia offer an instance in which two celebrated sculptors were employed, apparently in competition with each other. A preference is implied when it is said that Pæonios was chosen for the front sculptures, while Alkamenes was relegated to the back, yet this verdict, it may here be said, has not been justified by the recently discovered statues. In Ægina it is no less likely that two sculptors of different schools were employed, with this reservation, that both schools were essentially Æginetan, and both in operation till about B.C. 480. That the temple was erected immediately after this date to celebrate the great deeds of the Æginetans at the battle of Salamis, has already been described as highly probable, though it need not, at the same time, be denied that it might well have been raised some years before, during the period of the supremacy of Ægina at sea, from B.C. 485-480. It stood on a height from which Athens is clearly to be seen, and was at some distance from any town, commanding a

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn's theory. See p. 218, note 1.

prospect of unusual beauty and interest, which, on festal days, when visitors thronged to it, must have lent additional charm to the shrine itself.

It remains to be said that these sculptures were found among the ruins of the temple in 1811 by a party consisting of Baron Haller von Hallerstein, Herr Linkh, and the English architects Cockerell and Foster. Considerable interest was excited at the time by the reported excellence of the statues, and this was increased when the discoverers, desirous above all of keeping the marbles together, determined to offer them for public sale in Zante, whither they had been conveyed. The sale and its conditions were announced for November, 1812, but in the meantime, owing to fears of the French making a hostile attack on that island, the sculptures had been removed to Malta to be under British protection. Misled by this change, the agent sent by this country proceeded to Malta to be ready for the sale, but it, as originally advertised, took place in Zante in the absence of the figures, the buyer being the then Crown-Prince of Bavaria. Such was the degree of vexation that for a time this sober account of the transaction<sup>1</sup> by one of the principal parties was not accorded a hearing in comparison with the rumours afloat.

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<sup>1</sup> Cockerell, p. ix. of Introduction to his *Temples of Ægina and Bassæ*. In 1819 Cockerell published, as the result of his observations on the restoration of the figures by Thorwaldsen, an article in the *Journal of Science and Arts* (published by the Royal Institution of Great Britain), vol. vi., p. 327, with two plates of the west and east pediments. In the west pedi-

ment (pl. 1) the archers are placed third from the end, and in the east pediment (pl. 2) Herakles is placed on the left wing, concealing from view the more highly finished side of his cuirass. In vol. vii. p. 229 of the same *Journal* he gives a full and very interesting statement of the various restorations, and the condition of the marbles when found.



## CHAPTER X.

School of Kritios—Kalamis—His Chariot group of Hiero—Statues of Sosandra—Boys—Ammon—Race-horses—Characteristics of his style—His position in Athens—Temple of Victory at Athens—Hermes Kriophoros—Apollo Alexikakos—Statues of Apollo at Athens and in British Museum—Kallimachos.

IN speaking of the group of tyrannicides by Antenor we had occasion to observe that during its absence in Persia its place in Athens had been taken by a group of the same subject sculptured by Kritios and Nesiotes. That would be about B.C. 480. In the interval it might be supposed that art had made much progress in Athens, but this can hardly have been so in the case of these two artists if we may rely on the observation of Lucian when, in speaking of the early rhetoric as not easy to imitate, terse, sinewy, harsh and intensely brief, he compares it with the sculpture of Hegesias and the school of Kritios and Nesiotes.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not he here alludes specially to the group of tyrannicides, it is certain from another passage,<sup>2</sup> that he was acquainted with it, and must therefore at least have included it. Of the other works by these two artists to which this criticism doubtless was applied, one was a statue of an armed runner, named Epicharinos, on the Acropolis of Athens, referred to by Pausanias<sup>3</sup> as being by Kritios, but now known through the finding of the inscribed base<sup>4</sup> to have been executed by both jointly. Two others, of which only the bases<sup>5</sup> remain, were

<sup>1</sup> Rhetor. Didaskalos, 9: οὐ ῥάδια μιμῆσθαι οἷα τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας ἐστίν, Ἠγησίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κριτίου καὶ Νησιώτην, ἀπεσφιγμένα καὶ νευρώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀποτεταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Philops. 18.

<sup>3</sup> i. 23. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 460; Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen,

statues dedicated to Athena. Kritios independently had the merit of founding a school of sculpture which endured to a fifth generation,<sup>1</sup> consisting successively of Ptoichos from Corcyra, of whom nothing has been handed down beyond his being a pupil of Kritios, and master of Amphion, the next of the school, who elsewhere<sup>2</sup> is described as a native of Knossos in Crete, son of Akestor, and the sculptor of a chariot group at Delphi, presented by the people of Cyrene, and representing their founder Battos in a chariot being driven by a personification of Cyrene and crowned by Libya. Amphion was followed by his pupil Piso, of Kalauria, whose date can be determined at about B.C. 405 from the circumstance of his having executed the figure of Abas,<sup>3</sup> in the group set up at Delphi by the Lacedæmonians to commemorate the battle of Ægospotamoi, in that year. The pupil of Piso was Demokritos<sup>4</sup> of Sikyon, mentioned for his statue of a boy, Hippos, who had won the prize of boxing at Olympia. A sculptor of this name, but whether the same or not is uncertain, occurs on several<sup>5</sup> occasions. Contemporary with Kritios was Amphikrates, known only through the story<sup>6</sup> which tells how the Athenians employed him to perpetuate the memory of one who, though faithful to Harmodios and Aristogeiton in spite of torture, could not from her social position be publicly honoured with a statue. Her name was Leæna; and advantage of this was taken to represent her in the form of a lioness wanting its tongue, to express her secrecy. To this still archaic and hard

nos. 461-462. Another inscription, with the name of Nesiotes alone, and probably referring to the artist, though he is not directly so described, will be found in Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 104.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 3. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, x. 15. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, x. 9. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, vi. 3. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Diogenes Laert. ix. 49; Pliny, xxxiv. 87, and on an inscribed base, Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 448-451.

school of Athens belonged also Hegesias, or Hegias, mentioned as the sculptor of figures of Castor and Pollux, to be seen in Rome, and of statues of boys on racehorses.<sup>1</sup> Lucian, in the passage just quoted, places him with Kritios and Nesiostes. Dio Chrysostom makes him the master of Pheidias.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to the ancient records of artists, with their brevity which has no compensation and no excuse, unless in the extraordinary amount of material to be somehow or other touched on, it is often felt that the celebrity of an artist cannot be argued from the fact of his being mentioned by a number of writers, the more so since the extent to which these writers copied from each other is familiar in many instances. Or again, it would be a mere truism to say that in the haste of compiling, this or that artist of undoubted talent may have been passed over with a single word, as for example, Diodoros and Skymnos, of whom there is only the statement<sup>3</sup> that they were pupils of Kritios. Or, to take a different instance, mention is repeatedly<sup>4</sup> made of a bronze statue of Hermes Agoraios in Athens belonging to this archaic period, and yet nowhere is the artist's name recorded. On the other hand, until the recovery of ancient sculptures in Athens shall have proved much more successful than hitherto, it will be necessary to be largely guided by the impressions which the literary records produce. In the case of Kalamis the impression thus conveyed is one of acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 452-456.

<sup>2</sup> W. Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, vii. (1883) p. 66, argues that this statement of Dio Chrysostom in favour of Hegias, together with the silence of Pliny as to Ageladas having been the master of Pheidias, though he

mentions both Myron and Polykleitos in that relationship, ought to have more weight than the authorities which call Ageladas the master of Pheidias.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 470-474.

greatness in his art, though obviously also with a reservation as to his work being still stiff and archaic. "Who," says Cicero,<sup>1</sup> "does not know that the statues of Kanachos are too rigid to be true to nature; that those of Kalamis, while still hard, are yet softer than those of Kanachos?" His characteristics were those of Athenian art just before its culmination in the sculptures of Pheidias, and admitting the want of positive evidence as to where he came from and by whom he was trained, it seems reasonable to assume that he was a thorough Athenian.<sup>2</sup> From a skilful combination of circumstances it has been conjectured, if not positively affirmed, that he belonged to the aristocratic party in Athens, and along with Polygnotos, the painter, stood in much the same relation to Kimon as did subsequently Pheidias to Perikles.<sup>3</sup> So far as dates can with certainty be made out from his works, he was clearly a contemporary of Kimon. To begin with, it is stated by Pausanias<sup>4</sup> that at each side of a bronze chariot group at Olympia stood a racehorse with a boy rider; that these sculptures, apparently all in bronze, had been set up to commemorate victories at Olympia by Hiero of Syracuse, about B.C. 468; and that while the chariot group was the work of Onatas, the racehorses were by Kalamis. Again, his statue of Aphrodite, otherwise called Sosandra, at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens, was placed there by the wealthy Kallias, known for his having saved Kimon from debt by paying 50

<sup>1</sup> Brutus, 18. 70. This opinion is confirmed by Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7, and to some extent also by Dionysios Halicar., *de Isocrate*, iii. p. 522, when, agreeably to the fashion of comparing oratory to sculpture, he likens Lysias to Kalamis because of his polish and grace, while with a

curious want of distinction he compares Isokrates both to Polykleitos and to Pheidias.

<sup>2</sup> Praxias the Athenian was a pupil of his.

<sup>3</sup> Benndorf, *Festschrift* (Wien, 1879), p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 12. 1; cf. viii. 42. 4.



talents, and for having thereby secured the hand of the proud and beautiful Elpinike. Similarly as to the bronze statues of boys by him, dedicated at Olympia by the town of Agrigentum from the spoils of a victory over the Phœnician and Libyan population of Motya in Sicily, it is argued that this victory probably coincided in time with the success of Gelo against the Carthaginians in B.C. 480, and that the sculptures<sup>1</sup> were executed soon after this date. His statue of Ammon, made for Pindar, who died at an exceedingly advanced age in B.C. 439, may have been executed forty years before then for anything known to the contrary, while his figure of the Delphic Apollo in the Kerameikos at Athens, though surnamed "Alexikakos" in reference to some plague, is not to be supposed to have been executed after the time of disaster in B.C. 430. The words of Pausanias<sup>2</sup> neither state nor imply anything of the kind. When Pliny,<sup>3</sup> speaking of Praxiteles, says that he made a charioteer for a chariot group of Kalamis in order that the figure of the driver might be in keeping with the perfect beauty of the horses, it is highly probable that he had mistaken the older Praxiteles, who lived about the time of Kimon, for the more celebrated sculptor of the same name, possibly his grandson.<sup>4</sup>

On this evidence the artistic activity of Kalamis has been assigned to a period lying between B.C. 500 and B.C. 460. The following sculptures by him are mentioned in ancient writers:<sup>5</sup> (1) Apollo Alexikakos in

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, adopting a conjecture of Meyer's, *Griech. Künstler*, i. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> i. 3. 3.

<sup>3</sup> xxxiv. 71.

<sup>4</sup> W. Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. (1880), p. 5, following up the beginnings of Kekulé and Benndorf,

sets to work to separate from the sculptures classed under the name of Praxiteles by Pausanias a series of works which he maintains were from the hand of the elder Praxiteles.

<sup>5</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 508-526.

the Kerameikos at Athens; (2) a colossal statue of Apollo in bronze, thirty cubits high, at Apollonia on the Black Sea, whence it was conveyed to the Capitol or the Palatine in Rome by Marcus Lucullus; (3) Zeus Ammon in Thebes, erected by Pindar; (3) Hermes Kriophoros at Tanagra in Boeotia; (4) Dionysos also at Tanagra and sculptured in Parian marble; (5) Asklepios, beardless, holding a staff in one hand and a pine cone in the other, in Sikyon, executed in gold and ivory; (6) Aphrodite or Sosandra at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens; (7) Nike Apteros at Olympia; (8) Alkmene; (9) Hermione at Delphi; (10) the praying boys at Olympia; (11) the two racehorses, with riders at Olympia, in honour of victories by Hiero; (12) the quadriga for which Praxiteles was said to have made the driver, and (13) other chariot groups, as to which all that is said by Pliny is, that the horses were always unrivalled (*equis semper sine æmulo expressis*). It has been supposed<sup>1</sup> that the quadriga of which Pliny here speaks (12) without citing where it stood, may have been the famous bronze chariot which stood on the Acropolis of Athens, apparently between the Propylæa and the Erechtheum,<sup>2</sup> commemorating a victory of the Athenians over Chalkis in Eubœa. To have been chosen to execute such a monument on a spot the most conspicuous in Greece, would amply justify the expression of Pliny regarding the horses of Kalamis, and might also, perhaps, be held to account for his oversight of the place where it stood,

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, *Festschrift*, 1879, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, *Mittheilungen des Arch. Inst. in Athen*, ii. p. 95, quoting from Pausanias, i. 18. 2, ἄρμα κείται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, and again Herodotus, v. 77, καὶ τῶν λούτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν

ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκινον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον εἰσὶόντι εἰς τὰ Προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, which Michaelis takes to mean "on entering the Propylæa from the Acropolis." The inscribed base of this monument is given by Kirchhoff, *Corp. Inst. Attic.* i. no. 334.

or the purpose it served. The Alkmene (8) is uncertain because of the corrupt state of the text of Pliny at this point, but whatever figure he may have meant, it is not to be forgotten that he cites it to prove that in human figures Kalamis was not surpassed in nobleness of form. That the Aphrodite (6) is identical with the Sosandra repeatedly praised by Lucian, is now generally accepted, although it has not been satisfactorily explained how the goddess had come by this name, which much as it resembles her epithet of Soteira, yet appears to convey a more limited and special signification. By far the most likely theory is that<sup>1</sup> which traces it to popular facetiousness, playing as the comedies of the day are known to have played on the circumstance that Kallias, by erecting a statue of Aphrodite must have thereby acknowledged her assistance in winning over Elpinike and thus saving him. Lucian,<sup>2</sup> in one of the passages just quoted, speaking of Thaïs when dancing, says that "Diphilos praised her rhythmical movement, with the foot well timed to the lyre and the ankle so beautiful, as if he were describing the Sosandra of Kalamis," and in the other passage where it is a question of making up a female figure of perfect beauty by uniting the various excellences of great masters, he takes from the Sosandra, "modesty," "a sweet, unconscious smile," "a dress well suited, well arranged, and (not as in the Sosandra)

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, Festschrift (1879), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Imag. 4 and 6, ἡ Σωσάνδρα δὲ καὶ Κάλαις αἰδοῖ κοσμήσουσιν αὐτήν καὶ τὸ μεῖδιον σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς ὥσπερ τὸ ἐκείνης ἔσται, καὶ τὸ εὐσταλὲς δὲ καὶ κόσμιον τῆς ἀναβολῆς παρὰ τῆς Σωσάνδρας πλὴν ὅτι ἀκατακάλυπτος αὐτὴ ἔσται τὴν κεφαλὴν. Again, he says in the Dial. Meret. iii. 2, Διφίλος δὲ ὑπερεργῆναι τὸ εὐρυθμον καὶ τὸ κεχωρηγμένον, καὶ ὅτι εὖ πρὸς τὴν

κιθάραν ὁ ποὺς καὶ τὸ σφυρὸν ὡς καλὸν καὶ ἄλλα μύρια καθάπερ τὴν Καλάμιδος Σωσάνδραν ἐπαινῶν. Cf. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 520, and Benndorf, Festschrift (1879), p. 45. The base of a statue found beside the Propylæa and inscribed ΚΑΝΥ · ΑΣ ΗΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟ ΑΝΘ has been identified with this figure of Aphrodite or Sosandra, Corp. Inst. Attic. i. no. 392.

leaving the head uncovered." Practically the same judgment is passed by Dionysios of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> when he speaks of the polish and grace of Kalamis.

Thus the verdict of antiquity has ascribed to him a subdued and refined gracefulness in his female figures, unrivalled excellence in his horses, and withal a certain remainder of archaic stiffness. Modern opinion is divided according as it attaches more or less importance to this last point, and undoubtedly it is a point which ought to receive full attention when it is remembered that both Cicero and Quintilian, on whose authority it survives, were well capable of forming a judgment in the matter. On the one hand, it has been decided<sup>2</sup> that he is not to be regarded as having created a new epoch in sculpture, but as one who, while adhering to the principles in which he had been trained, developed a more natural, finer and higher conception of what was beautiful in human expression and in physical form, in this way rather preparing the way for his successors than opening it himself. On the other hand, without distinctly controverting this opinion, much greater praise is evidently implied when he is assigned a place in Athens during the administration of Kimon<sup>3</sup> similar to that held by Pheidias under Perikles, and when, in fact, it is suggested that the sculptures of the temple of Victory at Athens are to be associated with his fame. To this question it will be necessary afterwards to return. For the present it may be observed that the argument starts from the statue of Nike Apteros (7), commonly called Wingless Victory, but more correctly Athena Nike, set up at Olympia by the Mantineans, and made by Kalamis in imitation, it was said, of an

<sup>1</sup> De Isocrate, iii. p. 522, comparing him with the orator Lysias, pp. 128 and 132; Overbeck, Griech. Plastik. 2nd ed. p. 196.  
τῆς λεπτότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος.

<sup>3</sup> Benndorf, Festschrift (1879),

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, Griech. Künstler, i. p. 46.



archaic statue or xoanon<sup>1</sup> of her in Athens, holding in her right hand a pomegranate and in her left a helmet. No representation of Athena with these attributes has yet been found, except on the coins of Side in Pamphylia, a town at no distance from the mouth of the Eurymedon, the scene of Kimon's famous victory over the Persians by sea and land, B.C. 466-465. From the rich spoils of this battle the Athenians fortified the south wall of the Acropolis<sup>2</sup> and erected at Delphi a gilded statue of Athena standing on a bronze palm tree,<sup>3</sup> of which the artist is not mentioned. To doubt there must have been in Athens itself some very definite monument of so splendid a victory, and from the position of the temple of Athena Nike with reference to the south wall, it is argued that the erection of this building should be included in the statement about the fortifying of this wall,<sup>4</sup> and that the xoanon which Kalamis copied was no other than the sacred statue of this temple, the pomegranate in her hand not only indicating, as did the palm tree at Delphi, a victory over Orientals, but having special allusion to the town of Side, the symbol of which was

<sup>1</sup> This description of the xoanon is preserved in Harpocration, s. v. Νίκη Ἀθηνῶν. Δυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας. ὅτι δὲ Νίκης Ἀθηνῶν ξόανον ἄπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥόαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κράνος, ἐτίματο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, δεδήλωκεν Ἑλιδώρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν ἀ περὶ ἀκρόπολεως. Cf. Benndorf, Festschrift (1879), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Cimon, 13. See Michaelis, Mittheilungen d. Arch. Inst. in Athen, i. p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, x. 25, 4. The goddess held a spear, and was attended by her owl. Plutarch, Nicias, 13. 3, and De Pythiæ Orac.,

vii. p. 564 (Reiske). These authorities agree in stating that during the preparations for the Sicilian expedition crows picked the fruit on the palm.

<sup>4</sup> This view is strengthened by the phrase of Cornelius Nepos in his life of Cimon, 2. 5, his ex manubriis arx Athenarum qua ad meridiem vergit est *ornata*, since *munita* would have been the expression had not sculptured or architectural decoration been implied. The temple of Nike was the only decoration of the south wall. Benndorf, Festschrift (1879), p. 38.

a pomegranate, and which from its nearness to the scene of the battle, if not from some now unknown active part in it, would naturally have been associated with the event. Had the temple of Athena Nike been erected under the superintendence of Kalamis, there would be every reason from analogy to believe that the sacred image within had been the work of his own hand, and that, therefore, when he copied it for the Mantineans he merely, as Kanachos had done before, repeated his own design. It is curious that a statue executed by him should be called a xoanon, unless he had studiously taken an older image of the goddess for his model, and it is still more remarkable, if it really represented specially the victory at the Eurymedon, that the Mantineans should have had a copy of it, since there is no proof of their having been engaged in the battle. That they were so engaged is, of course, not impossible.

Had this argument been more conclusive, it would have been proper to introduce here the sculptures of the temple of Victory at Athens as in a greater or less degree witnesses of the artistic gifts of Kalamis, notwithstanding that the general impression which they convey is one of a more highly developed order of sculpture than on other grounds is assigned to him. This it is sought to explain away by those who maintain the argument, but with whatever success it may ultimately be possible to vindicate his title to these sculptures, it will be admitted that as works of art they are considerably in advance of the stage of Greek sculpture at which the present narrative has arrived. While, for this reason, the description may and ought to be delayed, it is gratifying to find that at least two of his statues may, with due allowance for the ancient copyists, be recognized in existing sculptures. The one is his Hermes Kriophoros, at Tanagra, copied on a coin of

that town, and reproduced in a small marble statue in Wilton House, and in an archaic terra-cotta statuette<sup>1</sup> from Gela in Sicily, now in the British Museum. A similar figure occurs occasionally, forming the handle of a bronze patera, for which purpose the rigidity of the limbs renders it highly suitable. There may have been less of this quality in the original, but yet enough to make it a noticeable feature. On the other hand, it would seem that he was not the inventor of this motive, since a fragmentary marble figure, found in 1864 on the east side of the Acropolis at Athens, represents Hermes in the same attitude, but carrying a calf (Fig. 44) instead of a goat on his shoulders, and belonging to a stage of sculpture considerably more archaic than that of Kalamis. Possibly at Tanagra also had been an older figure which he supplanted, and to this original it would be permissible, if necessary, to trace the rigidity of existing copies. For Tanagra he made another statue, which Pausanias mentions as exceptionally worth seeing. It was a figure of Dionysos, of Parian marble, and from its being placed in the temple of that god it may, perhaps, be taken to have retained something of the archaic nature of a xoanon, and still more probably to have been a draped figure.

But the second statue by Kalamis which has been recognized in modern times is his Apollo, surnamed

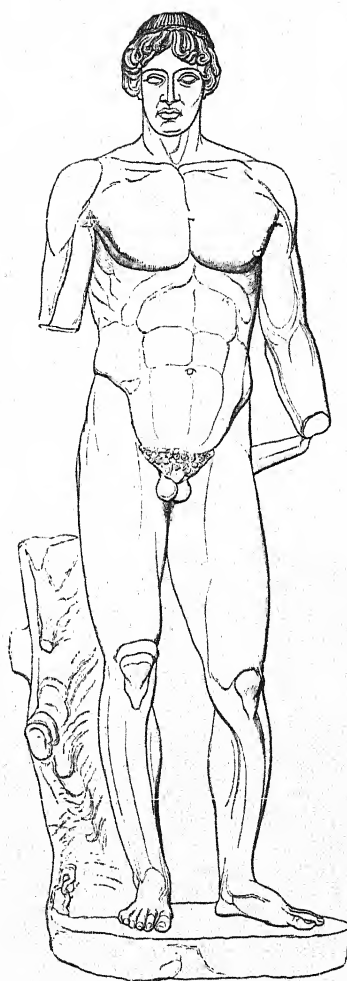
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<sup>1</sup> The coin of Tanagra is engraved *Arch. Zeit.* 1849, pl. 9. no. 12; the Wilton House statue in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 658, no. 1545*b*. Compare Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, p. 209.\* The terra-cotta in the British Museum has not yet been published. In the British Museum also is a terra-cotta relief from Locri, with Hermes Kniphoros in profile, but with

drapery over his arm and a petasos on his head. A terra-cotta belonging to M. Piot (1879) has the same motive. According to Pausanias (ix. 22. 1) Hermes had driven off a plague from Tanagra by conveying a ram round the walls, and it was for this that Kalamis made his statue carrying the ram on his shoulders.



MARBLE STATUE IN ATHENS.

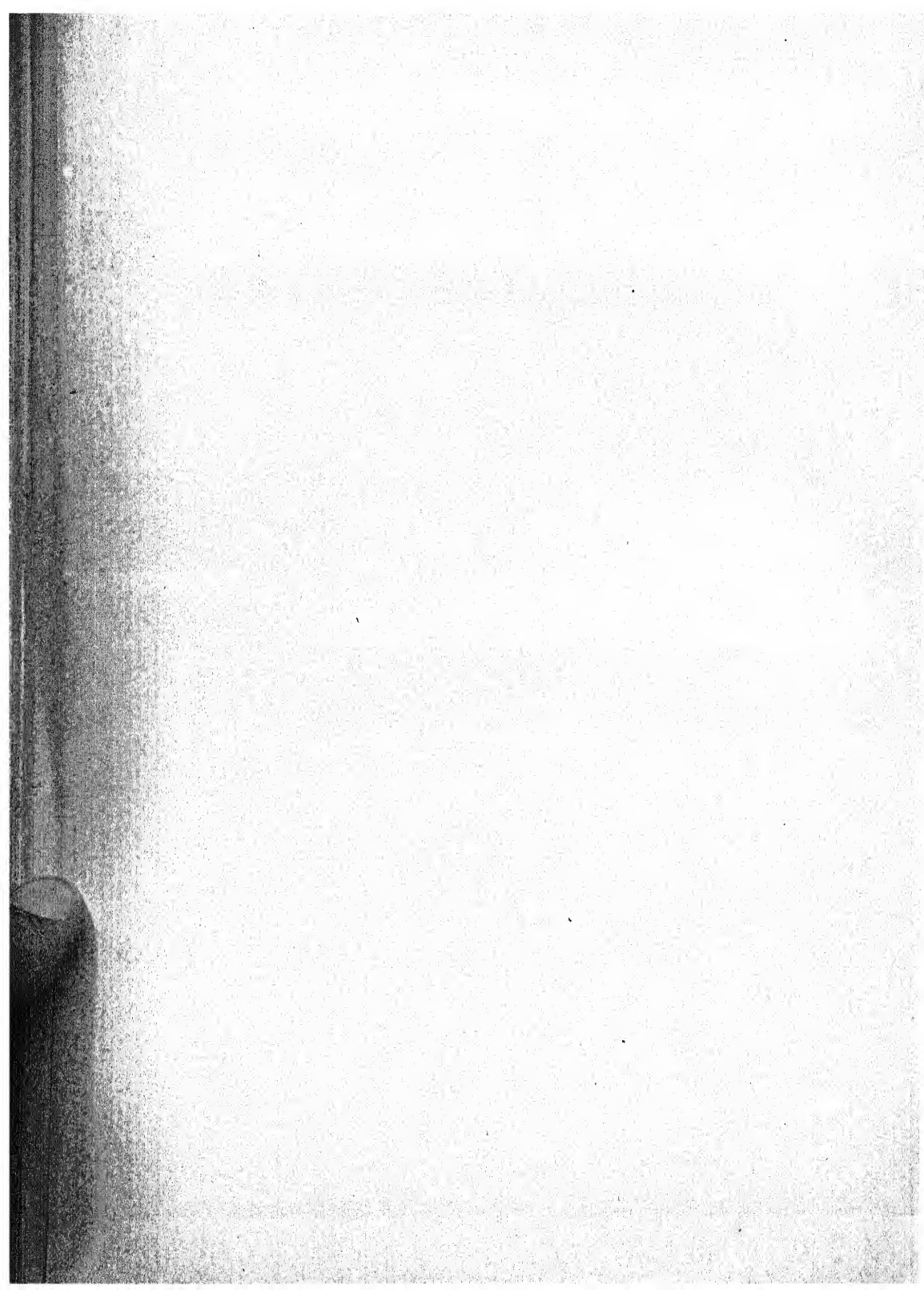


MARBLE STATUE IN THE BRITISH  
MUSEUM.

[To face p. 234.

*The idea of Waterloo that these represent athletes in the service of  
a replica in a villa near Naples with the attributes of Apollo*





Alexikakos, at Athens, erected in gratitude to the god of Delphi for having stayed a plague. In Athens there is still a marble statue, with a base in the form of an omphalos, which can be no other than the Delphic Apollo (pl. 8). In the British Museum (pl. 8), and in the Capitoline Museum<sup>1</sup> in Rome, are two other marble statues, which when measured and compared together prove to have been all ancient copies from one original, and if it be added that there exist at least two marble heads,<sup>2</sup> broken from statues, one of which corresponds accurately in its measurements, it will be granted that the original in question must have been a work of acknowledged celebrity, either for some religious reason or as a piece of sculpture, or possibly from a combination of both motives. Of unusual interest is it that two, if not all three of these figures, instead of being copies made in comparatively later times, seem to belong as nearly as possible to the date of the original. Especially so is this the case with the statue in Athens, which has the advantage of having escaped the hands of the restorer. It retains still the careful finish bestowed on the face, and indeed over the whole figure. The hair has attained exquisite beauty. The same distinctly archaic character is conspicuous also in one of the marble heads, that in the British Museum (Fig. 50), which shows in the rendering of the lips that it has been made from a head in bronze,

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<sup>1</sup> Conze, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik* (1869), pl. 3-6, gives these statues. On p. 19 he concludes, "Whether we have here really an Apollo according to Kalamis or not, I am convinced that the original of these statues belongs to the region of Kalamis."

<sup>2</sup> The two marble heads are in the Berlin Museum and in the

British Museum, the latter (fig. 32) having been found in excavations at Cyrene. Very like it in expression and in the manner in which the hair falls on the brow is the head in front view on an archaic silver coin of Cyrene, which naturally would be traced to Apollo from his position as the great deity of Cyrene.

with the inner parts of the lips of separate pieces. No less distinctly modelled according to the manner of early bronze work, is the hair as it falls forward in two masses on the brow. It falls so in all the copies, and at the back is in each plaited into a long plait, which is wound round the head like a diadem. The statues of the British Museum and of the Capitoline Museum closely resemble each other, while that of Athens has far more



Fig. 50.—Marble head in the British Museum. From Cyrene.

of freshness and even decisiveness in details, as if nearer the original if not the original itself. As regards its identification with Apollo it has been doubted, but without satisfactory reasons, whether the statue and the omphalos really belong together. The original statue may have been of bronze, but it is not necessary to assume this to account for the characteristics just observed, because they could be satisfactorily explained as survivals from a stage of sculpture in which metal was the predominant material, just as in the case of Myron, whose treatment of hair is charged with

being inferior to the truthfulness to nature pervading the rest of his figures. This possible explanation it is important to bear in mind, since on examining the statues in question, that of the British Museum in particular, it will be seen that the indications of anatomical details, for example at the ribs and throughout the torso, are too slight, or rather too much toned down to have been distinct and appreciable in bronze. In marble they may be said to be perfect. Nor is it likely that the copyist was equal to the delicate task of translating so skilfully from the one material to the other. That Kalamis, while working in bronze perhaps chiefly, and in gold and ivory also, showed his hand in marble, is known from his statue of Dionysos already spoken of. Besides, it is largely the toning down of what in older sculpture were strongly marked anatomical details, that shows wherein the special advance of art in this figure consists. That is to say, it consists to a large extent in the softening of the hard outlines of archaic forms rather than in the creation of a new massive and broad style, such, for example, as pervades the statues of the Parthenon. This is not by any means the whole truth. For it will be seen on comparing this statue with older sculptures, that the artist has in some particulars followed a new ideal, one feature of which appears to have been to avoid the pinched and knotted knees and ankles, and the strong contrasts between the breadth of the shoulders and hips as compared with the waist and across the thighs, which characterised archaic art, and necessarily conveyed an impression of realism. Not only has he avoided these points, but he has adopted a certain excess in the opposite direction, with the result of obtaining a beautiful ideal form, without, however, being able to swell it with the deep breath of genius. The knee-joints and ankles are broad and thick, the torso is of an even width, its lines down the sides flowing on



along the outside of the thighs and still unbroken to the feet. The shoulders, though stiff and square, have rather too little than an excess of breadth. In short, if along with the obvious approach to the highest ideal of sculpture in this figure it is remembered also that the horses of Kalamis were rendered in a way to attract great fame in antiquity, it will be admitted that he above all had prepared the way for Pheidias.

In following the Athenian school up to this point, some artists of lesser note have been overlooked, among these Kallimachos,<sup>1</sup> who for his gracefulness was classed with Kalamis, and enjoyed the byname of "Katatexi-technos," apparently to indicate the fineness and laboriousness of his work. He is mentioned as the inventor of the Corinthian capital, and as having first employed the drill in marble sculpture. Usually he has been assigned to a later date, from the circumstance of his having made the gold lamp for the Erechtheum, surmounted by a bronze palm inverted, the stem reaching to the roof and acting as a funnel for the smoke.<sup>2</sup> But as it may have been finished before the Erechtheum was built, and possibly intended for a different place, his being classed with Kalamis, has been properly held to mean that he was a contemporary and a sculptor of greater talent than would be inferred from these examples of his workmanship. Again of the elder Praxiteles almost nothing has been handed down except the fact, as it appears to be, of his having made the charioteer for the quadriga for Kalamis.

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<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 531-532.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 6. See Bendorff, *Festschrift* (1879), p. 40,

who wishes to show that the palm tree was here, as in the monument at Delphi, an allusion to the victory at the Eurymedon.

## CHAPTER XI.

### PYTHAGORAS, OF RHEGIUM.

Progress towards idealism—Metope of wounded giant from Selinus—Its artistic qualities—Pythagoras—His statue of Philoktetes—Technical innovations—Statues of Athletes—Europa—Chariot group—Statues of Kleon, Mnaseas, Eteokles and Polyneikes, Perseus, Apollo, Dromeus, Protolaos, Pancratiast at Delphi.

THE elimination of realism is not that all is needed to attain the ideal of sculpture, for even when that has been done the result may be altogether paltry. But in describing the progress of sculpture from its early stages to its highest development it is convenient to speak of it as a gradual elimination of realism, although such a description manifestly leaves out of consideration the efficient cause, that is to say, the new force of a higher conception and the steady introduction of an ideal truthfulness to nature, not only in the place of realism but in details, such as the rendering of the hair, where conventionalism had crept in from incapacity and was perpetuated from carelessness. These are points which come into prominence among the records of the period we are now entered upon, where of one sculptor it is said that he was the first to represent sinews and veins, or that he rendered the hair more carefully than others; of another, that he left the hair in the rude treatment of older times, and while excelling in bodily forms neglected the expression of mental emotions. Without here discussing these and similar

phrases, it may be observed that though intelligible enough in a general sense they cannot be made to convey an adequate notion of the facts unless in connection with an accurate knowledge of what may be called the efficient cause of them, the higher conception which forced them on. To some extent this may be perceived in certain sculptures which have survived, particularly in the metopes of one of the temples of Selinus in Sicily.

In the group of temples on the eastern hill of Selinus is one the ruins of which have yielded two metopes,<sup>1</sup> both, to judge from where they were found, having been placed on the principal front. The one much deteriorated over the whole surface and wanting the upper part represents a draped figure, whether goddess or god, overpowering a warrior, who has sunk on the ground with one knee and one hand. The other metope (Fig. 51) is occupied by a goddess, apparently Athene, giving the last blow to a fallen warrior, usually supposed to be one of the mythical giants who rose in arms against the gods. Here the sculpture is better preserved, and there is no difficulty in forming an estimate of its original appearance, notwithstanding the breakage of the upper part and the absence of the colours,<sup>2</sup> red, blue and green, traces of which were visible at the time of the discovery in 1823. The hair on the face of the giant, his open mouth with the lips forced back, showing the close rows of teeth, is an exhibition of deadly

<sup>1</sup> These metopes belong to the temple designated as Temple F., and were found in 1823 by Harris and Angell, in whose work, *The Sculptured Metopes of Selinus* (London, 1826), they are engraved, pls. 3-4. Since then they have been repeatedly published; but it will be sufficient to give here the

most recent source, Benndorf, *Die Metopen von Selinunt*, pls. 5-6. Pl. 6 of Benndorf corresponds to pl. 3 of Harris and Angell, but gives some additions discovered since their time. Pl. 5 of his work corresponds to pl. 4 of theirs.

<sup>2</sup> Harris and Angell, p. 41; cf. Benndorf, p. 51.

anguish on which artistic force has been concentrated successfully, but within certain limits. The helmet is falling off as it would fall under the circumstances, but the beard is trim and undisturbed, as if nothing were wrong near it. Thus conventionalism remains intact in the closest proximity to the most forcible realism, and both must be modified before the ideal can be attained. Towards that end the artist who sculptured this metope was in a fair way. The forms both of the giant and

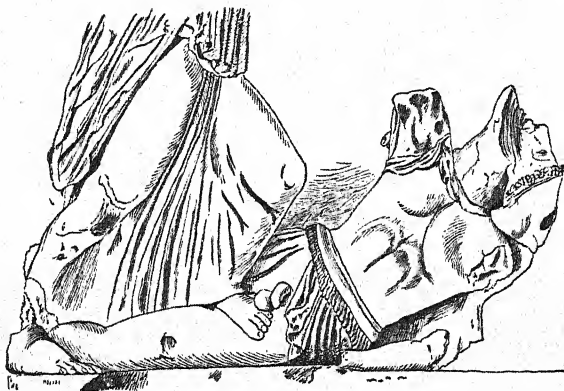


Fig. 51.—Metope from one of the temples at Selinus, in Sicily.

the goddess are large and broadly conceived. The action, if it were not restrained by the bondage of the times, would set free the drapery, which, singularly beautiful as it is, wants little to reach the ideal standard. So long as that step remains to be taken, so long will artists be content in this or that detail to repeat conventionalisms, and to intensify reality. Therefore, while these two specific forms of shortcoming exist, separately or together, it would seem as if they must always be accompanied by an incompletely developed ideal in the main part of the design, and if this is the case, we must be guided accordingly in dealing with the records of such sculptors as Pythagoras of Rhegium and Myron. That the metope just



described is the work of an artist contemporary with them is to some extent a conjecture, which those<sup>1</sup> would not accept who have assigned it to the middle of the sixth century B.C. On the other hand, a comparison<sup>2</sup> between it and the statues of Ægina would justify a considerably later date, closely approaching that of the artists in question, if not in fact the same.

It is with Pythagoras in particular that we are here concerned, not so much because of his proximity in



Fig. 52.—Coin of Gela in Sicily. River god.

Rhegium as because of a statue by him representing a man<sup>3</sup> "with a sore in his foot, the pain of which the spectators seemed to feel." Almost the same may be said of the Selinus giant, whose expression of pain must haunt everyone who has seen it. This statue was in Syracuse, and apparently it was a figure of Philoktetes<sup>4</sup>

a subject which in ancient art is found to have been

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, assigns the temple F. to this date on architectural grounds (p. 26). His description of the metope, on artistic grounds, occurs on p. 65, but he seems not to allow sufficient difference between it and the four metopes of the older temple (C.) on the Acropolis of Selinus, already described.

<sup>2</sup> Harris and Angell (p. 40-41) makes this comparison, adding that the giant's face has "perhaps rather more of expression," and they support the comparison by quoting the opinion to the same effect of Thorwaldsen, who, however, though perfectly familiar with the Ægina figures, knew those of Selinus only from the drawings of Harris and Angell, which, though

fairly characteristic of the style and execution, may be held to have been inadequate to form a judgment by. On the other hand I think more accurate drawings would only have confirmed this judgment of Thorwaldsen's.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59. *Syracensis autem Claudicantem cujus ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur.*

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, in his *History of Sicily*, p. 315, thinks that under the disguise of Philoktetes was an allusion to Hiero and his sufferings from gout and stone. But the allusions of Pindar and those open to a sculptor have such very different limits that this hypothesis can hardly be entertained.

realized in two ways in accordance with the different requirements of painting and sculpture. In the one set of designs Philoktetes appears lying on the ground, and suffering excessive pain from the wound in his foot. This is the pictorial representation. In the other he is limping on foot in such a manner as would be convenient for a sculptor who wished to exhibit his pain<sup>1</sup> in a statue. In limping from a footsore the suffering, as has been justly remarked,<sup>2</sup> is even more evident from the contorted attitude in which every movement is seen to be concentrated on sparing the injured part, than from the expression of the face. But the face must wear a corresponding expression all the same, and for the present it may be doubted whether a better illustration could be found than the head of the giant of Selinus. The beard and the hair may be too formal for the praise awarded to Pythagoras of having improved on his predecessors in this direction;<sup>3</sup> yet even here it is impossible to be certain of the meaning of words applied relatively to a ruder stage of art, and apart from that, it is not argued that the metope in question was his work, but rather that of a sculptor likely to have been familiar with his statue of Philoktetes in the neighbouring town of Syracuse. So powerful a rendering of pain could thus be defended by appeal to the example of an acknowledged master.

Generally it has been understood that to render suc-

<sup>1</sup> An extensive series of these designs of both classes has been collected in Dr. Milani's memoir on Philoktetes. As the work of a great master in the pictorial class may be mentioned the Philoktetes of the painter Parrhasios. Compare also the painting of Philoktetes described by Philostratus Junior, xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 139. Lessing, *Laoköon*, c. ii. (ed. Blümler, p. 27), was the first to point out that the Claudicans of Pliny was to be taken as referring to a statue of Philoktetes.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59: *capillumque (expressit) diligentius*.

cessfully the concentrated movement of a limping figure implies just that special artistic excellence which one ancient writer<sup>1</sup> has recorded of Pythagoras as compared with his predecessors, that is to say, excellence of *rhythmus* and *symmetria*. These phrases, proper to rhetoric, are more or less vague when applied to sculpture, and there is this to be said against them in the present instance, that had the statue of Philoktetes been conspicuous for an effect of this kind, it would have lost by so much its power of conveying the impression otherwise ascribed to it, that of compelling the spectator to sympathise with the pain. For obviously these qualities of rhythm and symmetry are cited as a general characteristic of his works, and if they apply to such of them as are known from their attitude and movement to have been perfectly free and natural, then it can only be supposed that they applied in the lowest degree to the Philoktetes, whose attitude and movement were the reverse of free and natural. The record does not, in fact, say directly that his works were characterised by these qualities. Taken simply it means that he was the first who endeavoured to reproduce them when he found them existing, that is to say, in the models from which he worked. That, it will be seen, is an entirely different matter, and leaves the Philoktetes to be made an exception of.

When again it is said that Pythagoras was the first

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius, viii. 46 : *πρῶτον δοκῶντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι*. See Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 139, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 184. Brunn recognises fully that the distortion of limping would upset the natural harmony of a walking movement, but argues that the new system of concentrated movement necessary

for effect would properly be described as exhibiting *rhythmus* and *symmetria*. But that is equivalent to saying that there is a beauty in deformity. There may be a beauty of art in rendering what is deformed, but there could scarcely be a rhythmical art in rendering what is unrhythmical.

to express sinews and veins<sup>1</sup> in his statues, the meaning may either be supposed to be that his was the first complete and intelligible system of the kind which had been seen in sculpture, there being no question but that these details, whether rightly or wrongly, were frequently given before his time;<sup>2</sup> or it may be taken that the record refers to him as the first sculptor in bronze who had rendered sinews and veins, the difficulty being here greater than in marble and more likely to have been longer evaded.<sup>3</sup> In either case his skill is attested in reproducing these finer details, and this, together with his improvement in rendering the hair, leads to the conclusion that he was a close student of the living form. That he was acknowledged to be a great master would be inferred from the commissions which he obtained, and is expressly stated by Pausanias<sup>4</sup> in the words, "if anyone, he was excellent in plastic art." This writer proceeds, without indicating that Pythagoras was a native of Samos, to say that he was a pupil of Klearchos of Rhegium, who again had been a pupil of Eucheir of Corinth. This Eucheir had studied under the Spartans Syadras and Chartas, but of them or of Eucheir nothing farther is known. Klearchos, on the other hand, was celebrated among the earliest sculptors in bronze, when the technical process of working in this material still consisted in making a figure of many

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59: hic primus nervos et venas expressit.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 139, and Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 2d ed. p. 183, both adopt this view as necessary from the fact that older sculptures exhibit sinews and veins. Sinews as the equivalent of *nervi* is Brunn's explanation.

<sup>3</sup> This is the view of Blümner in

the Rhein. Mus., xxxii. p. 603, whose general argument is that in this and a number of other statements, Pliny was quoting from a history of bronze sculpture.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 4. 2: Πυθαγόρας ὁ Ῥηγῖνος εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικήν. Again, vi. 6. 2, he speaks of a statue by him as θεῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος.



separate pieces and fastening them together with nails.<sup>1</sup> Some called him a pupil of Dipœnos and Skyllis, or even of Dædalos. Otherwise there is no means of determining his date, and it cannot be denied that the air of great antiquity which surrounds him from these traditions renders it not a little marvellous that from his instruction Pythagoras should have risen to so high a place, as to have not only deserved the praise just mentioned, but to have even surpassed Myron with the statue of an athlete at Delphi.<sup>2</sup>

The commissions executed by Pythagoras were, so far as is known:—(1) At Olympia a statue of Astylos of Crotona, a runner who in three successive seasons had won the races of the stadion and diaulos. This appears to have occurred in B.C. 488, 484 and 480.<sup>3</sup> On the last two occasions he entered himself as a native of Syracuse to please Hiero, whereupon his townsmen of Crotona in their anger took down his statue from its place beside the Hera Lakinia and converted his house into a prison. Probably he had abandoned Crotona altogether, and left his house to be done with as seemed good. But even assuming that he had gone of his own free will, there was still enough of severity in the public treatment of him to show with what pride a town looked on the victory of one of its citizens at Olympia, and what honour they attached to the artist whom they employed to make his statue. Possibly the statue at Crotona had been a cast from the same mould as that of Olympia. At all events Pythagoras, so far as is known, worked

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59: *vicit eum (Myronem) Pythagoras Rheginus ex Italia, pancratiaste Delphis posito.*

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 181; Pausanias, vi. 13. 1; Pliny,

xxxiv. 59. It is unlikely that the statue had been erected so late as the second or third victories, because by either of those dates the attachment of Astylos to Hiero would be known.

only in bronze, and the mould could be used for both, not only as a saving of expense, but also for the sake of having an exact copy of the statue at Olympia, whither naturally pride would carry the thoughts of the Crotoniates. As a runner he would not necessarily appear in the act of success, but the probability is that he was so represented if we hold that the phrases rhythm and symmetry as applied to natural action and movement should be extended to it. A figure in the act of running, if faithfully rendered, would at once suggest these characteristics. One of the favourite statues of Myron was a runner in full swing.

(2) At Olympia a statue of Euthymos,<sup>1</sup> a boxer of Locri in Italy, who had been victor first in the year B.C. 484, and again in B.C. 476 and 472. In the intervening Olympiad, B.C. 480, he had been wrongly worsted in boxing. A copy of this statue existed at Locri, and both, it appears, were in one day struck with lightning, if such a statement is to be believed, when it is found in connection with so much that is miraculous. For the story goes on to say how through a legendary adventure in some unknown place called Tamesa, Euthymos obtained the power of living for

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 6. 2, is the authority for the statue and the dates, after which he relates the adventure in Tamesa, with the story of immortality, which he does not credit. Pliny, vii. 152, speaks of Euthymos as semper Olympiæ victor et semel victus, confirms the legend of his immortality on earth, and adds the statement about the two statues being in one day struck with lightning. The marble base of this statue has been discovered at Olympia, and bears the following inscription:

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀστυκλείου τρις  
Ὀλύμπι ἐν'κων,  
Εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς  
ἑσοῶν.

concluding with two lines in which Pythagoras, the sculptor, is called a *Samian*:

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε,  
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν,

whence it is argued (Arch. Zeit. 1878, p. 82) that he had been born in Samos.

ever, and still, many centuries after his triumphs at Olympia, had been seen there by old men. This was the statue said by Pausanias to be very well worth seeing.

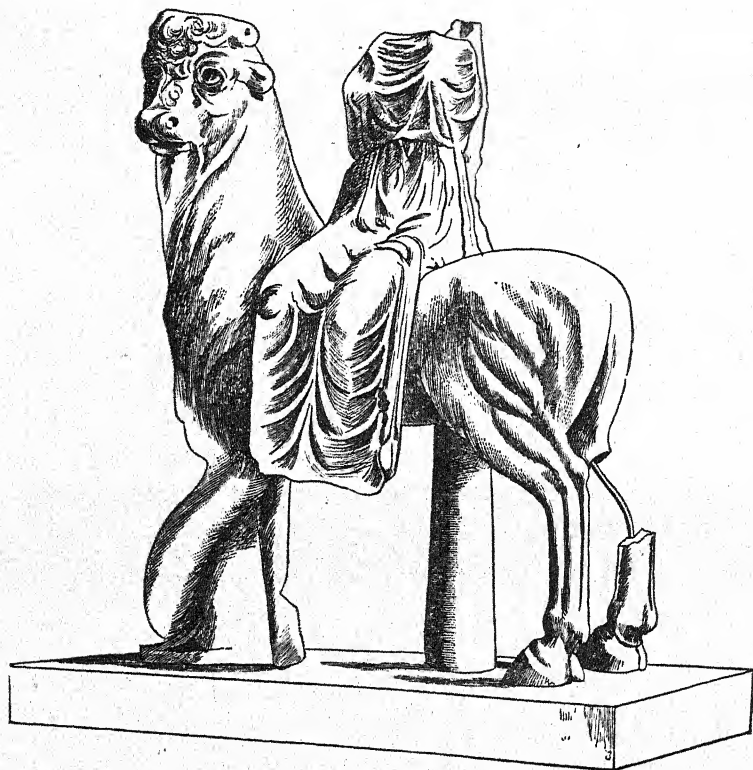


Fig. 53.—Marble group of Europa riding on bull, in the British Museum. From Crete.

(3) At Olympia a statue of the wrestler Leontiskos,<sup>1</sup> of Messene in Sicily, whose practice was not the usual one of throwing his opponent, but of breaking his fingers. He had several times been victor. These statues, together with (4) the Philoktetes at Syracuse

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 4. 2; cf. Pliny, xxxiv. 59. Suidas, s. v. Sostratos, has misread the passage of Pausanias.

already described, and (5) a figure of Europa<sup>1</sup> riding on a bull, at Tarentum, were local commissions, and may, as a reasonable conjecture, be assigned to an early stage of his career, before his fame had spread. As regards Europa, that is a subject of frequent occurrence in ancient art, mostly, however, in pictorial designs, where the one-sidedness of the group tells with effect. This feature may have been altered in works of sculpture in the round, though a marble group (Fig. 53)<sup>2</sup> from Crete is, so far as it goes, evidence to the contrary. There Europa sits sideways, turned full to the spectator, towards whom the bull also looks straight, bending round his head. On the other side the work is roughly executed, and by this indicates that it was removed from sight. In the figure of the bull and in the composition of the group there is much of a true archaic stamp, which might be traced to the time of Pythagoras, but along with this there is a degree of clumsiness and inexperience such as would be accounted for if the group were a considerably later copy of the famous original in bronze at Tarentum, made for the Cretans of Gortyna, who above all honoured Europa. No doubt it is equally open to conjecture either that Pythagoras had taken his motive from a design already familiar from the works of minor hands, or that in fact he had carried out an entirely different rendering of the subject. But this at least remains—that Europa, by being necessarily a draped figure, must have led him far out of the usual track of statues of athletes, while again the figure of the bull would open a new region of

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 502-504.

<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum—engraved in Jahn's *Denkschrift der Wiener Akademie*, 1870, pl. 42. It was found in fragments on the site of the theatre at Gortyna, the

coins of which town present a similar subject in an archaic manner. See Admiral Spratt's *Travels in Crete*, ii. p. 30; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, ii. p. 430, and Stephani, *Compte-rendu pour l'année 1866*, p. 109.



study. Not that in either respect this group stands alone among his works. In the chariot<sup>1</sup> of Kratisthenes (6) both features recur, the horses representing his skill in animal life; Nike, the goddess of Victory in the chariot, would be draped like Europa, and Kratisthenes himself would wear the dress of a driver. So also the statue (7) of the bard Kleon<sup>2</sup> at Thebes, comes into special notice for its drapery, since the folds of it once served to conceal for thirty years some money hid in them by a fugitive when Thebes was taken by Alexander. For one reason or another the proper costume of a citharist was the same as that worn by women, and in the time of Pythagoras the upper garment would cross the breast, with a large oblique fold from the left shoulder to under the right arm. Somewhere there the hiding could have been accomplished.

With these instances of drapery may be compared that of the goddess of the Selinus metope already introduced in connection with Pythagoras—not that it is to be taken as more than a general illustration of the manner of his period in one particular direction to which he applied himself, and in which there was perhaps more need of improvement than in any other. The constant demand for statues of athletes led art in another way, and obviously it speaks for the wider scope of his artistic faculty that Pythagoras entered upon such subjects at all, even if he did not advance them, a point on which it must be confessed there is no direct evidence. There is only the surmise that this piece of sculpture from Selinus belongs to about

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 18. 1. This was a bronze chariot group at Olympia. Kratisthenes was a native of Cyrene, and appears to have won a chariot race. Both he and Victory stood in the chariot.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59, tells the story of a statue of a Citharædus, surnamed the Just, assigning it as the work of Pythagoras, while Athenæus, i. p. 19, B.C., tells it of the statue of Kleon in Thebes.

his time, and coming 'from a neighbouring district may have shared the influence of so great a master.

From Cyrene he had before had a commission to execute for Olympia (8) a statue of Mnaseas,<sup>1</sup> the father of the Kratisthenes for whom the chariot group was made. Mnaseas had won in the armed race, and apparently was represented holding apples in one hand to indicate the country of his birth. For Thebes also Pythagoras executed, besides the figure of Kleon, a group<sup>2</sup> of Eteokles and Polyneikes (9) in their desperate combat. Other legendary or mythical subjects by him were (10) a bronze statue of Perseus,<sup>3</sup> and (11) a figure of Apollo<sup>4</sup> slaying the serpent with his arrows. Finally he made for Olympia statues of (12) a runner well-named Dromeus,<sup>5</sup> who had been victor twice, and (13) of Protolaos,<sup>6</sup> a boy who had won the prize for boxing; for Delphi, (14) the pancratiast<sup>7</sup> with which he surpassed Myron; (15) a group of eight figures to be seen in the Temple of Fortune at Rome in Pliny's time.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, v. 13. 4, and compare vi. 18. 1, where he calls Mnaseas the father of Kratisthenes, and says he was known among the Greeks as the "Libyan," an expression which must be taken along with the words of Pliny (xxxiv. 59), in recounting the sculptures of Pythagoras: *et Libyn puerum tenentem tabellam eodem loco (Olympiæ) et mala ferentem nudum*. A youth holding apples in his hand would thus indicate characteristically his Libyan origin. The tablet would perhaps tell of his victory. But Pliny's description of the figure as that of a youth does not coincide with Pausanias, who calls the statue of Mnaseas that of an armed man (*ὁπλ. της ἀνῆρ*). Cf. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 501. Pliny (xxxiv. 60) speaks of a Pythagoras of Samos, whom he accredits with seven nude figures and one old man; but the inscription from Olympia shows that he has made two artists out of one, and that this group also should be added to the list of his works.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 500. This figure is said to have had wings, and when Brunn (*Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 134) explains the *themas* attached to his heels and petasus, that does not necessarily follow in a case of archaic art, where wings were of much more frequent occurrence than in later art.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, vi. 7. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, vi. 6. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 9.

## CHAPTER XII.

### MYRON AND THE SCULPTURES OF HIS SCHOOL.

Characteristics of Myron mentioned in ancient writers—Statue of Marsyas in the Lateran—Other representations of same motive—Observation of details of natural form and life—Figures of animals and subjects from daily life—Statues of athletes—Ladas—The Discobolus—Statues of Apollo—Influence of Myron on the sculpture of his time—The friezes and metopes of the Theseion at Athens—Comparison with metopes of Parthenon—Metopes from Temple of Hera at Selinus.

THE impulse which, towards the end of the 6th century B.C. and the early part of the 5th, evoked in Greece the highest forms of poetic and dramatic ability, must from the nature of the circumstances have stirred deeply at the same time those who were occupied with sculpture, so far as it was their ambition also to illustrate and magnify the deeds of the past. To a great extent this had always been the ambition of artists, but at this period there was much to draw their observation closely on the present life around them. Art had advanced so far that the living model was necessarily under constant study, and everything animate which most nearly approached to man in its movement, or in its individual forms, was a source of attraction. It was, therefore, to be expected that in some cases this side of the artistic faculty would be indulged to the detriment of the higher side of ideal creation. Possibly from a wider view it was no detriment, since it may be too much to hope of one sculptor that he should combine all the gifts of his profession. Yet it counts

against Myron, fully admitting his excellence in other respects, that he had not entered on the higher walk with the success which attended some of his contemporaries. Broadly, it may be said that he was wanting in imagination, but gifted with keen observation, and that the indulgence of this faculty separated him in a degree from the governing impulse of his time. Entirely free from it he was not. For it will be seen, on the one hand, that sculptures of an ideal order occur among his works; and on the other, that the one charge urged against him in antiquity is inconsistent with his having been exclusively an observer of nature. That was the charge of being in the rendering of hair not in advance of rude early times: *capillam et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset*.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he rendered the hair according to the conventional manner of treatment which had long been in use, as may be seen in numerous instances of archaic sculpture, where, instead of freely modelled masses, we find generally long wavy lines slightly marked on the surface, and ending in formal curls. Not only is there no sign of real observation or study, but, on the contrary, there is a positive conventionalism capable of exercising an attraction by itself; and, doubtless, it was this attraction that led to its prolonged existence in art. Thus it would be incorrect to say that Myron, though a faithful observer of the human form, had neglected the hair, when, in fact, he purposely accepted the traditional treatment of it, as the words of Pliny convey. *Rudis antiquitas instituisset*, clearly refer to a definite conventional manner, and that manner may be seen in many existing sculptures.

It is important to bear this in mind, because of the

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 58. Brunn, *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1858, p. 381, when he compares Myron's rendering of the hair with the manner prevailing just before Pheidias, appears to be on the whole right



effect it may have in modifying our judgment of certain other characteristics assigned to Myron; for example, *ipse tamen corporum tenus curiosus animi sensus non expressisse*. Here it may be said that Pliny<sup>1</sup> contradicts himself, having just ascribed to Myron a Satyr *admirans tibias*, since *admirans* in the ordinary sense would imply *sensus animi*. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the astonishment of the Satyr was wholly expressed in the attitude, the face remaining unmoved, not to the rude degree of the oldest metopes of Selinus, but still in a manner not unknown in more advanced art.<sup>2</sup> A Satyr with unmoved face, starting back at the sight of the flutes, would perfectly express *admirans*, and at the same time would by his movement give excellent scope for the artist's faculty of studious attention to the forms of the body. The difficulty is to determine the extent to which he succeeded in rendering these forms true to nature. But this much appears certain, that he could not have attained the truthfulness generally noticeable in sculpture after the time of Praxiteles. A statue with the forms of that type, or even nearly approaching it, and with hair of the kind just described, would be a combination contrary to all feeling. We must, therefore, be satisfied to conclude that whatever the diligence of his observation of nature may have been, it was still accompanied by a severity of style consistent with archaic rendering of the hair.

<sup>1</sup> xxxiv. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, *Annali*, 1858, p. 382, cites Petronius as saying of Myron, *pæne hominum animas ferarumque ære comprehendit*, and very properly distinguishes between *anima* and *sensus animi* in such a way that the presence of the former is consistent with the absence of the latter. He supposes that this

*anima* would appear in the face of the Satyr, and in fact finds it strongly expressed in the Lateran statue of Marsyas. But its being there (which I do not admit) is no argument for the statue of Myron, since in the Lateran statue the conditions regarding the treatment of the hair have been changed, and have so rendered possible a change of face.

Then it is said : *Primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur numerosior in arte quam Polycletus et in symmetria diligentior.*<sup>1</sup> In thus speaking of Myron after he had spoken of Polykleitos, Pliny seems to have thought him the younger of the two, and to have surpassed his predecessors in the variety of his productions and in attention to symmetry (of movement ?) : that in fact, "he was the first of whom it could be said that he had extended the truthfulness of art to a greater number of subjects and with more variety of symmetry than Polykleitos," whose works Pliny had already characterized as *pæne ad unum exemplum.*<sup>2</sup> Other explanations have been given of this passage, and apparently a general agreement is impossible, except on the meaning of the words *multiplicasse veritatem*,<sup>3</sup> "to extend the truthfulness" of art, a phrase which is justified by the variety of his known productions, even in statuary, and may have been still more applicable in the eyes of those who knew the minor work which he bestowed on chased metal vases ; not to include, perhaps, many sculptures

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 58 ; Brunn, *Annali*, 1858, p. 379, and compare his *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 151. Blümner, *Rhein. Museum*, xxxii. (1877), p. 596, discusses at length the arguments used for the different explanations of this passage, principally those of Brunn, on the one hand, and of Overbeck on the other. He comes nearly to the same conclusion as Brunn.

<sup>2</sup> This in effect is the meaning adopted by Brunn. Obviously it relies on a connection between *multiplicasse* and *numerosior et diligentior*, which Brunn puts in this way : "He was the first who multiplied the truthfulness of art, being more varied in his subjects

and more diligent in his symmetry." I have read the passage rather as if we had in the text *numerosius* and *diligentius*. The opposite theory of Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed., p. 192, and more fully *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1857, starts by taking *numerosior* in a technical sense, as an equivalent of "*eurhythmus* ;" but this is to overlook the fact that both words *numerosior* and *diligentior*, in their plain and ordinary sense have just that direct connection of ideas with *multiplicasse* which is expected.

<sup>3</sup> The best MS. gives this reading instead of the common *varietatem*, which is now fairly set aside.

of high ambition of which there is now no record. But "to extend the truthfulness of art" is an expression which, even taking it as not employed in a comparison with Polykleitos, is still necessarily comparative in its nature.

With all his success, there are no grounds for supposing that he had attained the truthfulness of a perfectly free stage of art, and there is no reason against assuming that in all cases his style was accompanied by a marked degree of severity, which was not completely overcome till Pheidias overcame it. As regards *symmetria*, it may be translated as "balance" when applied to a figure in active movement, such as the *Discobolus* or the *Ladas*. Polykleitos seems to have attempted nothing so bold in movement, and so much requiring balance.

In discussing these characteristics of Myron it has been usual to refer frequently to a marble statue in the Lateran (Fig. 54), which it may be well to notice here before proceeding to the more definitely accredited works of that sculptor. The attitude of this figure is at first sight that of a dancing Satyr.<sup>1</sup> While some still maintain that view of it, others have recognized in the movement that of a Satyr who has been rushing forward to seize an object lying on the ground, but has been suddenly arrested in this action, and is represented by the artist at this particular moment of arrest.<sup>2</sup> Next it is remem-

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf and Schoene, *Ant. Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums*, no. 225, contrary to the opinion of Brunn and others, describe the action as that of dancing (p. 144). Nor is it to be denied that the right foot is twisted to the inward as it would be in posture making, but not in starting from fear.

<sup>2</sup> G. Hirschfeld engraves the statue in his *Winckelmannsfest Programm*, 1872, and describes it as representing the struggle between the two opposite movements, the right leg exhibiting the last of the forward movement, while the left leg and left arm show the backward movement just commenced.

bered that on the Acropolis of Athens was a group of

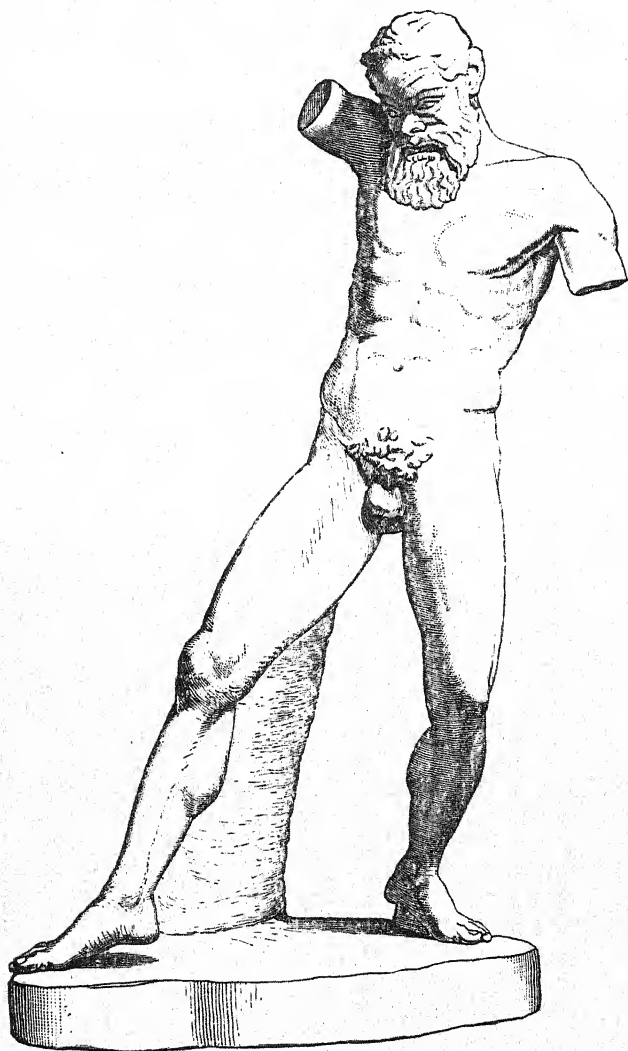


Fig. 54.- Marble statue of Marsyas, in the Lateran Museum, Rome.

sculpture in which Athena appeared in the act of  
'striking' the Satyr Marsyas because he wanted to



take up the flutes she had cast away.<sup>1</sup> According to Pliny, if read one way, Myron made a statue of a Satyr wondering at flutes, or if read another way, wondering at flutes and at Athena.<sup>2</sup> In the one case we have two independent statues, and in the other a group. Probability is in favour of the group, for this reason, that a statue of that goddess alone is an unlikely subject to have come from the hands of Myron, while Athena in a group with Herakles and Zeus occurs among his works. Besides, the motive of sudden astonishment which the group yields would suit him better for a Satyr than a single figure looking in wonder at his flutes. If he then made such a group, it is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that what Pausanias saw on the Acropolis was no other than it, although his silence as to the sculptor is a little singular. Yet the sculpture which he saw must have been remarkable; for with more or less variety it is found to have been reproduced on the relief of a marble vase at Athens (Fig. 55), on a coin of that city, and on a painted vase obtained there.<sup>3</sup> To some extent the Satyr may be said to correspond in his attitude with the

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, i. 24. 1: 'Αθηνᾶ πεποιήται τὸν Σείληνον Μαρσύαν παίονσα ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρρίφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 57. Fecit et canem et Discobolon, et Persea et priistas et Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam. Michaelis, Annali, 1858, p. 317, proposes to make Minervam dependant on fecit, not on admirans, and this undoubtedly would seem the most natural reading of the passage, if it were not for the Athenian group and the close position of the Satyr and Athena in the text of Pliny.

<sup>3</sup> Published in Hirschfeld's "Winckelmannsfest Programm,"

1872. The relief first in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, ii. 3, p. 27, but very differently from the original, as may be seen in the engraving, Arch. Zeit., 1784, pl. 8. Kekulé, Bullet. d. Inst. Arch., 1872, p. 282, thinks the moment represented on the relief and painted vase was when Marsyas, having been in the act of playing on the flutes, was startled by the sudden appearance of Athena. For this interpretation Brunn's proposed correction of the παίονσα of Pausanias into ἐπιούσα would be an advantage, but possibly παίονσα is to be taken in a general sense of threatening rather than actually striking Marsyas.

statue of the Lateran. For this reason it has been taken to be a copy from the same original, while on account of the resemblances which have been discovered between its style and the artistic features ascribed to Myron, this original is positively assigned to him. Myron is not known to have worked in marble, and

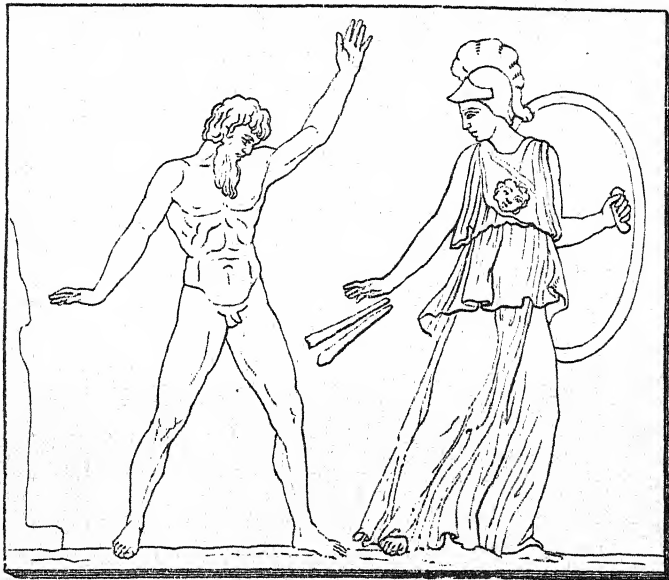


Fig. 55.—Marsyas and Athena. Relief on marble vase in the National Museum, Athens.

accordingly the sculptor of the Lateran Marysas is assumed to have introduced modifications of details such as would be necessary when copying from bronze into marble. Allowance being made for this, it is argued that he has still preserved the characteristic features of Myron's work,<sup>1</sup> even to the extent of neglect in rendering the hair of the beard and head. But on this point it has been seen that what is said of him does

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Annali*, 1858, p. 374; Benndorf and Schoene, *Ant. Bild-Friederichs, Bausteine*, p. 121; *werke d. Lat. Mus.*, no. 225.

not strictly imply neglect. It implies merely that he retained the somewhat picturesque and decorative treat-



Fig. 56.—Bronze figure of Marsyas, in the British Museum. From Patras.

ment instituted in archaic times, and this is not the treatment of the hair in the Lateran statue. In the bodily forms it is said that more of the manner of Myron

has survived, but it is impossible not to recognize in the hard protruding bones of the shoulders and in the studied meagreness of the whole, the result of a stage of art much more advanced than that of Myron. Yet the action of the figure undoubtedly is such as would have commended itself to the sculptor of the Discobolus. But here again everything is comparative, and precisely the same action when repeated in the bronze Marsyas from Patras (Fig. 56),<sup>1</sup> is seen to have no trace of the severity and dignity which accompany the equally intensified movement of the Discobolus in the British Museum, and still more, it is said, the celebrated example in the Palace Massimi (Fig. 58). The Lateran statue has, however, not retained these qualities of severity and dignity in the action. Nor does it appear to be just to say that the face expresses the highest degree of astonishment,<sup>2</sup> though even then that is an effect which has been seen to be alike contrary to ancient testimony and inconsistent with the proximity of archaically rendered hair. In point of fact the face is that of a Satyric mask, in which there is no doubt always a concentration of all the features on one definite expression. But this is a very different thing from the expression of a human face concentrated on any one moment of interest. Nor is the difficulty in this respect removed, though it is reduced, by describing the expression of the face as that of anima, or animal energy, to be in accordance with one ancient writer.<sup>3</sup> It may therefore be concluded that on the whole this statue is unsatisfactory as an illustration of the art of Myron; and we may now proceed to a more special study of his works, premising that as to his life nothing definite is known beyond his

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<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum. Published in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pls. 34, 35, with an explana-

tory article by me.

<sup>2</sup> Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn, *Annali*, 1858, p. 382.



having been a native of Eleutheræ in Bœotia and a pupil of Ageladas. With one exception his statues were of bronze. Tradition assigns to him also great excellence in the chasing of vessels in silver.<sup>1</sup>

How far the sculptors of an earlier period, such for example as Bathykles of Magnesia or the artist of the Chest of Kypselos, had succeeded in conceiving and rendering the great variety of subjects which they introduced from legend and mythology, it is impossible to realize. But from the circumstance that many of the subjects sculptured by them are again found, at the date at which we have now arrived, engaging the skill of artists like Myron, it may be concluded that these older representations had acquired popular favour, and that it was their insufficiency in point of execution rather than in artistic conception which gave occasion to these new designs. Badness of execution would not retard the success of a well-conceived group, while, on the other hand, badness of conception would not have saved an exceptionally well-sculptured design. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that Myron in some of the works assigned to him may have only engrafted upon a traditional conception his own peculiarities of working out details. The wooden statue of Hekate (1) for instance, which he is said to have made for Ægina, could hardly have been other than a work of this kind. It was a xoanon, and as such played a part in religious services.<sup>2</sup> Hekate as

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 185, rejects the statement of Pliny, that Myron flourished in the 90th Olympiad, as in any case too late. He was a rival of Pythagoras of Rhegium in one instance, and the general impression to be gathered from what is recorded of him is that he must have belonged to a still archaic school. As regards

the vessels of silver with chased designs which are ascribed to him and to other artists of great fame, it may be questioned in most cases whether the authority is to be relied on, though of course such occupation is not in itself impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ii. 30. 2.

a triple figure, was a later invention of Alkamenes. Again, the statue of Dionysos (2) on Mount Helicon, beside Apollo and Hermes, in the company of Muses and poets, though much praised, may have been in the general conception no advance on the traditional type,<sup>1</sup> perhaps a draped figure such as has descended in the form of the Indian Bacchus. The Erechtheus at Athens (3), compared in excellence with this statue, may have represented that ancestor of the Athenians characteristically with legs from below the knees formed of serpents as in a sculpture now in Athens,<sup>2</sup> and in that case it is possible that Myron had derived his model broadly from the older designs of Tritons, Typhos and Echidna on the throne of Apollo at Amyklæ,<sup>3</sup> on which also were to be seen Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa, Athena leading Herakles into the presence of the gods of Olympos, and Athena pursuing Hephæstos. Perseus and Medusa no doubt were common in archaic art. Nor is it argued that the other two subjects here cited were directly used as models by Myron. The intention is only to suggest that in his colossal bronze group of Zeus, Athena and Herakles at Samos (4), he may have

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ix. 30. 1: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε Σύλλας τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ὀρθόν, ἔργον τῶν Μύρωνος θεᾶς μάλιστα ἄξιον μετὰ γε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρεχθέα. Sulla had carried it off from the Orchomenian Minyæ and had set it up on Helicon. It seems to be to this statue that the verses of the Anthology (Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 539) refer, the allusion being to the second birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus, with which is compared this other birth from the furnace of Myron:

Ἐκ πυρὸς, ὃ Διόνυσε, τὸ δεύτερον ἦνίκα  
χαλκοῦς

Ἐξεφάνης, γενεὴν εὔρε Μύρων ἑτέην.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved in Lebas, Voyage Archéologique, pls. 28, 29, and called Erichthonios. Whoever the artist may have been, it is undoubtedly a very able conception, the figure seeming to rise from the earth just as an autochthon would be thought to rise. Yet from the style of art it cannot be contended that this figure goes back even near to the time of Myron.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, iii. 18. 7.

followed in the scheme of his composition some older conception, such as that of Bathykles. At all events it is probable that in the grouping of these three figures the object was to illustrate the presentation of Herakles to Zeus as the head and representative of the gods of Olympus.<sup>1</sup> They stood together on one base. Similarly the curious subject of Athena pursuing Hephæstos may have suggested Myron's group of Athena threatening Marsyas (5), already described. Of his Perseus and Medusa (6) there are no details,<sup>2</sup> except that it stood on the Acropolis of Athens.

If these observations are just, it may be urged that they ought also to apply in some degree to all the other works of Myron, since in his statues, whether of gods or athletes or even of animals, he must have found in older art an abundance of examples to adopt. Most likely this was the case, not only with him but also with the other sculptors, who before the time of Pheidias may be said to have carried the representation of single figures to its highest excellence as compared on the one hand with the still older artists, distinguished for their power of creating designs or compositions, and on the other with Pheidias and his followers, who revived this power in combination with excellence in single forms. There is nothing to show that Myron belonged to this latter class. So to speak he was a creator of species, who accepted the genera of his time. Or, to vary the comparison, he adopted certain stocks and sought to perfect the breeds. Even in a stricter sense this seems to have been true; for it is impossible to explain the quantity and extravagance of the praise awarded to his bronze figure of

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiv. p. 637, says that these three statues were carried off by Antony, but that two of them, Athena and Herakles, were re-

turned by Augustus, who, however, retained the Zeus and erected for it a chapel on the Capitol.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, i. 23. 8.

a cow (7), except on the theory that she represented the perfection of breed. Thirty-six Greek epigrams on it exist, not to mention other allusions in verse and prose,<sup>1</sup> and there is nothing in them that does not confirm this view. No doubt the style and manner of a great artist can ennoble the commonest subject, but only by means of a subtle observation of points of real beauty which common eyes had failed to see, and therefore in this general sense, if not otherwise, Myron's cow may have been a refinement of species. So also it would be consistent with what is known of him to say of his statues of athletes and of deities, that they were the work of a sculptor whose aim was to make them perfect within the limits with which they had been handed down from older art. To carry out this aim there was need of that faculty of observation of and sympathy with the life of man and of animals which we have seen was a characteristic of Myron. The other animals accredited to him are four oxen (8) and a dog (9).<sup>2</sup>

With such a character, it is to be expected that there would be mixed some degree of humour, and curiously

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 550-591a. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 147, quotes from Goethe the following analysis of these epigrams: "All unanimously praise the cow for its truthfulness and naturalness, and cannot enough emphasize the possibility of its being mistaken for a living animal. A lion may perhaps tear it to pieces, a bull spring on it, a calf suck it, a herd of cattle gather round it, a herdsman throw a stone at it to make it move away or strike it and whip it, a ploughman may bring his plough to yoke it, a thief may try to steal it, a fly may

settle on its hide, even Myron himself might confound it with the other beasts of his herd." To this we have only to add that no representation of a common bred cow could ever have met with such applause, while on the contrary a faithful rendering of a highly bred cow would rightly attain this end. The point of my argument is that in all cases Myron sought out the most perfect available type of the subject he had in hand.

<sup>2</sup> Propertius, ii. 31. 7; Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 592, and Pliny, xxxiv. 57.



enough the desire to associate this faculty with him, instead of noting it in the group of Athena and Marsyas, where it underlies the conception, appears to have been unfortunate in assigning to him the statue of a



Fig. 57.—Bronze statue of boy picking thorn from his foot (spinario), in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

drunken old woman,<sup>1</sup> which, in fact, was the work of a sculptor named Maron. Possibly that would have presupposed too coarse a humour. There remains what

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxvi. 33, is the authority for ascribing this statue to Myron. But an epigram in the Anthology (Anth. Pal. vii. 455) quoted first by Schœne, Arch. Zeit.,

1862, p. 333, and afterwards discussed by Benndorf, Arch. Zeit., 1867, p. 78, describes the statue and gives the artist's name as Maron.

Pliny<sup>1</sup> calls *Pristæ*, a term which, according to modern interpretation, means *genre* figures of one kind or another. If this is correct it would establish the fact of his possessing the faculty in question, although it does not make much clearer the degree to which he indulged it. On the other hand, some have endeavoured, starting with his production of *genre* figures as a certainty, to derive a more or less definite notion of his style from a comparison of a bronze statuette in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 57), representing a boy picking a thorn from his foot, a subject which, with different treatment of details, recurs in a marble figure found in Rome, and a small bronze said to have been found in Sparta.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> xxxiv. 57. Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 145, explains this word as meaning sea-dragons. But see Petersen, Arch. Zeit. 1865, p. 91. Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 2nd ed. p. 186, accepts the word as referring to *genre* figures, without going farther. Petersen takes the word as Greek, from *πρίστης*, a sawyer, and recognizes in the balanced movement of two men occupied sawing, a characteristic of the art of Myron.

<sup>2</sup> The head of the bronze Spinario in the Capitoline Museum is published Mon. d. Inst. Arch., x. pl. 2. Compare Annali, 1874, pl. m, with the marble Spinario in Florence and with an article by Brizio, p. 49, who compares the treatment of the nude in a figure in the Louvre restored as Pollux, engraved in Visconti, Mon. Borghesiani, pl. 17, fig. 2. The Spinario now in the British Museum is engraved Arch. Zeit., 1879, pl. 2, 3, and Mon. d. Inst. Arch., x. pl. 30, and Annali, 1876, pl. n, with an article,

p. 124, by Robert, who argues as to the Capitoline bronze that it is of the late school of Pasiteles, an opinion shared also by Kekulé, Kunst. Museum zu Bonn, p. 100. The small bronze from Sparta belongs to Baron Rothschild in Paris, and is not published. Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 289, points out the archaic character of the bronze Spinario of the Capitol as against Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 511, and others, who assign it to a later period. Brizio, as above quoted, sees in it certain characteristics of Kalamis, while Furtwängler identifies it with the style of Myron, in his article on the *Dornauszieher* in Virchow and Holtzendorff's Sammlung Gemein. Wissen. Vorträge, vol. xi., Berlin, 1876. Kekulé, Arch. Zeit. 1883, p. 230, pl. 14, gives the head of the Capitoline Spinario along with the head of the Apollo from the west pediment of Olympia, and believes that it is right to place the Capitoline figure in the time of Myron or Polykleitos.

first an objection has been raised to the mere possibility of a work of this nature being executed at the stage of art in which Myron lived, since no example of it is recorded, except the group of boys playing at knuckle-bones by Polykleitos. At the same time it is to be remembered that statues of victorious athletes were to an extent subjects taken from daily life, and that this was especially the case with the Discobolus, whose statue by Myron still exists in marble copies, which show how acutely he had observed the actual living movement of the athlete. There is nothing of the victor in it, such as may be supposed to have been made a feature in other statues of athletes. It is a study from life, as much as is the Spinario of the Capitol, though, no doubt, there is this difference between them, that the Discobolus may easily be understood to have been an ordinary commission, while, as regards a *genre* figure like the Spinario, it is difficult to imagine where a patron could have been found in the days of Myron. Generally demand regulates supply, in art as elsewhere—not, however, without exceptions. The demand for artistic representations of scenes from daily life did not prevail till long after. Yet the group of boys by Polykleitos may have been an exception, and possibly also the *Pristæ* of Myron were a group of figures engaged in some daily occupation. His son and pupil, Lykios, was distinguished in this direction. Obviously the Spinario in question does not come within the strict meaning of this word. But the way in which the motive is seized as compared with the Discobolus, the formal archaic rendering of the hair, and the vivid realization of the forms, illustrate what is handed down of Myron; while

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Curtius, Arch. Zeit., 1879, pls. 2-3, p. 22, thinks that Myron and his school shared in the idealism

of Pheidias, and sought to combine it with their own tendency to realism.

the beautiful type of face and figure confirm what has just been said of him as a sculptor, who in this respect displayed subtilty of observation of, and keenness of sympathy with, beings not endowed with mind.

The statues of athletes assigned to Myron are, besides those at Delphi,<sup>1</sup> of which no description is given, at Olympia the figure of a boy boxer (10) named Philippos,<sup>2</sup> from Pellana, (11) Timanthes<sup>3</sup> of Kleonæ, who had won as pancratiast, (12) Lykinos<sup>4</sup> from Sparta, who had won the chariot race, and had two statues, (13) the Lacedæmonian Chion,<sup>5</sup> (14) the runner Ladas, and (15) the Discobolus. The story of Ladas was that in swift-ness of foot he had no equal, but that falling ill immediately after his victory at Olympia, he was conveyed thence, and died on the way home to Argos, where, afterwards, in the temple of Apollo Lykios, a statue of him was seen by Pausanias.<sup>6</sup> This was not necessarily the statue by Myron, since, had it been so, the omission of this writer to mention the fact would be strange. Besides, Ladas would have been entitled to a statue at Olympia, and considering his fame it is unlikely that he was neglected in this respect. Probably it was it which was the work of Myron; and probably, also, the reason why Pausanias did not see it there was that the Romans may have carried it off before his time. Ladas was a figure well known to Roman poets.<sup>7</sup> Non Ladas

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vi. 8. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, vi. 8. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, vi. 2. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, vi. 13. 1, objects that this statue could not have been of Chion, because he lived long before Myron. But as he proves that the inscription in honour of Chion on a stele beside the statue must have been a later

invention, so it may be argued that the statue may also have been raised in times as late as those of Myron.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, iii. 21. 1, gives the incident, and ii. 19. 6, mentions the statue without stating the name of the artist.

<sup>7</sup> Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 543.



ego pennipesve Perseus, says Catullus,<sup>1</sup> and though his knowledge of both may have been derived from literature rather than from art, it is still a fact available for our purpose that Myron sculptured also a Perseus, and for all that is known to the contrary may have represented him at the moment of overtaking Medusa through his speed, rather than at the later moment of cutting off her head. In that case the motive of his Perseus would have approached broadly to that of the Ladas, as gathered from the ancient epigrams, where the latter<sup>2</sup> statue is described as that of a runner straining with his last breath to the goal, and appearing to leap from the pedestal. Such a description answers to a frequent attitude of Perseus in works of art, and if it could be proved, instead of remaining only a probability, that he appeared so in the group in question, that would be another confirmation of what has been said as to Myron's having belonged to that class of sculptors who took the general conceptions of their predecessors, but raised them into a higher sphere of art.<sup>3</sup> At all events the statue of Ladas must have resembled a Perseus in motive, whether the Perseus of Myron or not.

More celebrated was the Discobolus, and fortunately, from the references of Lucian and Quintilian,<sup>4</sup> there is no doubt regarding the general aspect of the statue. It was that of an athlete who has gathered together the whole of his strength to hurl forward his disc, and to gain the last impetus has sent it back in his right hand

<sup>1</sup> lv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 542.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 148 and p. 150, quotes the Ladas as an illustration of Myron's gift of rendering physical life in a concentrated moment, when the last

breath was on the lips of the runner. So also Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 18; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, ii. 13. 8, says *Quid tam distortum et elaboratum quam est ille discobolos Myronis?*

with all his might. The marble statue of a disc-thrower in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> answers this description, except that the head, if original, is put on the wrong way;



Fig. 53.—Discobolus. Marble statue in the Palace Massimi, Rome.

since, according to Lucian, it was turned backward, as it naturally would be, towards the disc. Correct in this and in other respects is the marble Discobolus in the Palace Massimi (Fig. 58)<sup>2</sup> in Rome, which it is usual to

<sup>1</sup> The marble in the British Museum has had its surface much polished away, but has evidently been a careful copy from the same source as the Massimi statue.

<sup>2</sup> The Massimi statue is engraved also by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed, p. 190, and is here reproduced from Schnaase.

accept as preserving largely even the style of the bronze original of Myron.

It has been assumed that the statue by Myron was that of a particular athlete, on the ground that the only ancient writers who mention it were more or less in the habit of naming a figure according to its characteristic action or attitude, rather than by specific names, which in the lapse of time had lost their significance.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it may equally well have been either, as already suggested, a *genre* figure or a legendary subject such as that of Perseus,<sup>2</sup> who is said to have introduced disc-throwing, and who, while exhibiting his skill in it, accidentally caused the death of Akrisios. Or, the statue may have represented the young Hyakinthos, since in the British Museum is an engraved gem with the figure of a discobolus in the bent attitude of the statue and inscribed with the name of Hyakinthos. We could readily understand Myron, for all his love of direct study from nature, being yet so far under the influence of tradition as to seek out for a nominal subject among the legends familiar to his contemporaries, while all the time he was reproducing an action of ordinary life. However that may have been, it is clear that the motive has been taken from real life, and has been treated in a

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<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher* (in Virchow and Holtzendorff's *Sammlung Gemein. Wissen. Vorträge*, xi.), p. 31, collects a number of instances from Pliny, such as Doryphorus, Diadamenus, Sacrificantes, and others where an epithet appears to have been chosen in place of the real name of the persons represented. On this account he does not accept them as instances of *genre*, and on the whole he seems to be right, since statues carried off to Rome,

probably in most cases without their bases and inscriptions, would naturally become known by some characteristic epithet. At the same time his theory does not necessarily exclude them from being in some cases *genre* figures: for he himself admits into this category the boys playing with knucklebones by Polykleitos, though it is possible to conceive that they may have been a legendary subject.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ii. 16. 1.

manner as far removed from ideal treatment as was probably possible at the time. Compare, for example, the other well-known type of a discobolus, who, as seen in two statues in Rome,<sup>1</sup> stands with one foot drawn back in the act of beginning to collect his impulse for the throw. Here the motive also is real, but the treatment is true to the ideal manner, which imparts a dignity not likely to have been preserved on the occasion. He is precisely what would be expected in the statue of a successful athlete, executed according to the usual conditions; and although the motive of this figure is perhaps with justice ascribed to the later sculptor Naukydes, there is no reason to suppose that he had greatly departed from a traditional type, since several archaic bronze statuettes of Etruscan origin, in the British Museum, maintain with some variety the upright attitude of an athlete preparing to throw his disc. One of them (Fig. 59), at least, appears to be of a date earlier than Myron; and if, as is not improbable, it represents the archaic type of disc-thrower, we can see how great was the innovation which he introduced. It was an innovation in the direction of *genre*, which at present appears irreconcilable with what is known of the conditions imposed on the sculptors of statues for victorious athletes. Nor is it inconsistent with this that a noble severity should pervade the attitude and form of the Massimi statue; for that is a quality which none of the great masters of Myron's time is likely to have been without. It is a

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<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Visconti, *Mon. Borghesiani*, pl. 4, fig. 1, and *Mus. Pio-Clementino*, iii. pl. 26. For the marble statue in the Vatican of the same type as the Massimi statue, see Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 120. Helbig, *Bullettino dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1885, p. 76, notes a statue of an Ephebus belonging to

Baron Barracco in Rome in the attitude of pouring oil from a flask in his raised right hand. Of this type there are copies in Munich and Dresden which Brunn, *Annali*, 1879, p. 201, had traced to an original by Myron. The figure of Barracco's has exactly the type of head of the Massimi Discobolus.



quality which we have seen markedly pronounced in the Spinario of the Capitol. How well it harmonizes with

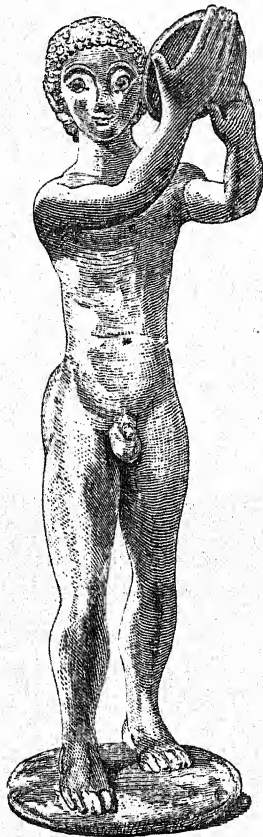


Fig. 59.—Discobolus. Bronze statuette in the British Museum.

the formal archaic rendering of the hair need not be said. But we may affirm that the one feature is necessary to the other. It was a quality, further, which enabled him to sculpture gods as well as men on occasion. Besides the statues of deities already mentioned, there are two figures of Apollo (16, 17) attributed to him, of which the one is said<sup>1</sup> to have been carried off from Ephesus by Antony, but to have been returned by Augustus, through the admonition of a dream. The other formed part of the plunder of Verres, and is generally known from the statement of Cicero concerning its great beauty, and from the fact that the name of Myron was inlaid on its leg in small letters of silver. Lastly he made a statue of Herakles (18) which also had been seized by Verres, and is greatly praised by Cicero.<sup>2</sup> The

group of a Satyr and Athena (19) has already been discussed.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 58, and Cicero, in Verr., iv. 43. 93.

<sup>2</sup> In Verr., iv. 3. 5. With this has been identified the statue of Herakles by Myron, said by Pliny,

xxxiv. 57, to be in the house of Pompey beside the Circus Maximus in Rome. See Stephani, *Der Ausrühende Herakles*, p. 193.

It has been seen that Myron was not of the class of sculptors who, like Pheidias and his successors, were gifted with the power of creating new and large compositions. His faculty was rather for the perfecting of single figures. Yet the influence which such a faculty, employed with success, must have exercised in Athens, need not have been confined to artists working exclusively in the same direction. That influence has been traced in the sculptures of the Theseion, on grounds which render it necessary to examine them now in detail.

The Theseion, or Temple of Theseus, lying to the north of the Areopagus, at Athens, is still generally known by that name, notwithstanding the many arguments<sup>1</sup> that have been brought against it as regards its local situation, its inconsistency with the description of Pausanias, and the improbability of a monument in honour of Theseus having taken the form of a temple, not to speak of the question whether the architecture and the existing sculptures on it belong to the time when his bones were brought back by Kimon from the island of Skyros, and were received at Athens with great ceremony. This was in B.C. 469-8. No doubt

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<sup>1</sup> Principally, L. Ross, *Das Theseion*, Halle, 1852, which is an expansion of his memoir in modern Greek, *Τὸ Θησεῖον*, Athens, 1838. Most recently Gurlitt, *Das Alier der Bildwerke des so-genannten Theseion*, Wien, 1875. Ross thought (p. 34) the Theseion might have been a mere monument with a statue, and having paintings of the deeds of Theseus on the peribolos wall, and he argued that the building now known as the Theseion was a temple of Ares. Gurlitt is content with arguments against its being the Theseion.

On the other side see Leake's *Topography of Athens*, i. p. 498; Ulrichs, *Annal. d. Inst. Arch.*, 1841, p. 74, replying to Ross's memoir in modern Greek; Brunn, *Berichte der bayer. Akad.*, 1874, p. 51, and Schulze, *De Theseo*, 1874. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* (1874), p. 216, treats the question of site as uncertain. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* (1862-1872), i. p. 285, assigns the temple of Ares to a site near the Areopagus, and therefore contends that Ross must be wrong, since the Theseion is some distance away.

the idea of a temple to a hero is unusual. On the other hand, the hero Erechtheus shared with Athena Polias the temple on the Acropolis, in which was his tomb; and on this analogy it is not impossible that the building erected over the bones of Theseus may at the same time have been associated with some deity. In that case the attempt to prove that what is called the

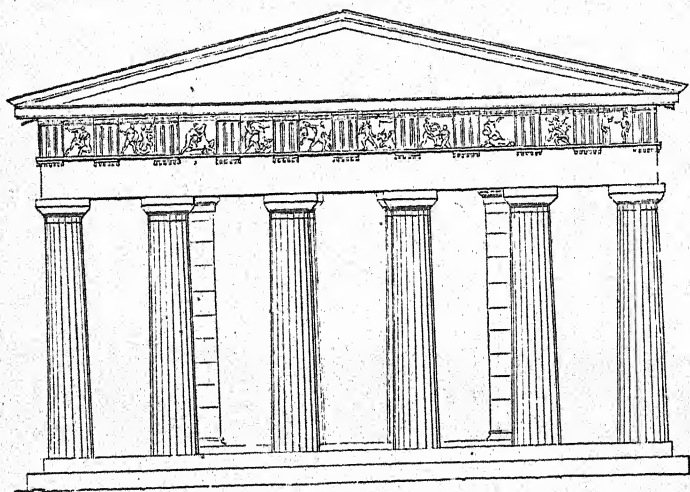


Fig. 60.—East front of the Theseion at Athens.

Theseion was, in fact, the Temple of Ares<sup>1</sup> mentioned by ancient writers, and as yet not otherwise identified, may be held to be so far successful. A temple to Ares, containing a chamber with the bones of Theseus, could be spoken of as the Theseion with the same justice with which the temple of Athena Polias was called the Erechtheion. This would meet also the objection that Pausanias<sup>2</sup> describes the decorations of the Theseion as

<sup>1</sup> L. Ross, *Das Theseion*, as above quoted.

<sup>2</sup> i. 17. 2. These paintings (*γραφαί*), which by the time of Pausanias had suffered a great

deal, were mostly by the painter Mikon. They represented the combats against the Amazons and against the Centaurs, in both of which Theseus took the leading

paintings ; and therefore, it is to be presumed, internal decorations executed on the walls, which, as the remains testify, had been prepared with stucco for such a purpose. Further, this theory would explain why the existing sculptures assign only a secondary position to Theseus, while the paintings described by Pausanias were directed to his special glory. It is true that in the sculptures it is not Ares, but Herakles, who holds the first place, so far as their meaning has been made out. Still it is to be remembered that in decorations of this kind Athenian pride in their ancient traditions was of as much, if not more, account than the particular service of a deity. Nor can it be contended that such scenes of combat as those of the Theseion were not strictly appropriate for a temple to Ares in the first place, and to Theseus in the second. The question of its local situation<sup>1</sup> is so slight as to be of little consequence either way, while as regards the date of the architecture,<sup>2</sup> authorities are divided, apparently without hope of agreement. It remains then to be seen whether the sculptures can properly be assigned to a period immediately after the year B.C. 469-8.

These sculptures consist first of a series of eighteen metopes, so arranged that ten of them occupy the east front of the building, while the others, so to speak, turn round the corners, and are placed four on the north, and four on the south side. The metopes round the rest of the temple were left empty. On the front pediment are

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part. The word *σηκός* employed by Pausanias would very well express the internal room of the cella.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, i. 17. 2, says, *πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν*, but the expression is still indefinite, as is also that of Plutarch (*Thes.* 36), when he says the Theseion *κείται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει*.

<sup>2</sup> Gurlitt, as above quoted, argues that the architecture affords proof of its being later than the Parthenon, while Iulius, *Annali d. Inst. Arch.*, 1878, p. 205, though admitting certain Ionic elements not found in the Parthenon, still believes the Theseion to be the older building of the two.



holes to show that figures had been disposed in it, and thus altogether the east front was strongly emphasized by the accumulation of sculpture upon it,

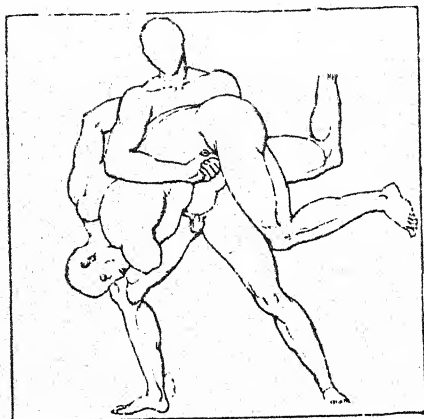


Fig. 61.—Metope of the Theseion. Theseus killing Kerkyon.

and by the neglect shown to the rest of the temple. Secondly, there were two friezes, one on the east, and

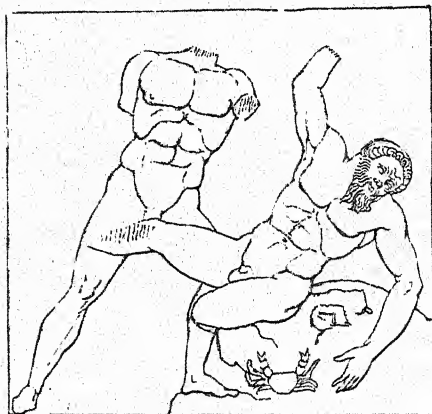


Fig. 62.—Metope of the Theseion. Theseus killing Skyron.

the other on the west end; but here again there was a distinction in the relative importance of the two, since that of the east front is considerably longer, extending

as it does on each side across to the epistyle, while the frieze of the west does not extend beyond the *antæ*. There is a distinction also in the relative importance of the subjects represented, for in the east frieze there are two groups of deities. On the other there are no beings of this order. All these sculptures were executed in Parian marble. The temple itself was built of Pentelic marble. On the interior of the cella have been observed remains of stucco, with which, as has been said, the walls had been prepared to receive paintings. On the sculptures were found traces of colour, blue forming the ground, and red, green, and blue being applied to drapery, with the addition of bronze or bronze-coloured weapons.<sup>1</sup>

The ten metopes on the east front are devoted to the labours of Herakles, as follows, beginning from the south: Herakles (1) strangling the Nemean lion, (2) slaying the Lernean hydra with the aid of Iolaos, (3) capturing the Keryneian stag, (4) seizing the Erymanthian boar, (5) overpowering the horses of Diomedes of Thrace, (6) bringing Cerberus from Hades, (7) taking the girdle from the Amazon Hippolyte, (8-9) combat with Geryon in two stages, (10) in the garden of the Hesperides.<sup>2</sup> So much, however, have these sculptures been injured that they no longer present satisfactory evidence of the original style. It has gone better with the other metopes at the ends of the north and south sides. They are eight in number, as has been said, and they represent deeds of Theseus as follows: on the south side, Theseus (1)

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<sup>1</sup> Leake, *Topography of Athens*, i. p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *loc. cit.*, gives for (8) the combat of Herakles with Kyknos, and for (9) his wrestling with Antæus. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 260, agrees as to

Kyknos, but explains (9) as Geryon. The authority here followed is Iulius, who gives the ten metopes in the *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.*, x. pls. 58-59, with an article in the *Annali*, 1878, p. 193, to which reference will afterwards be made.

slaying the Minotaur, (2) capturing the bull of Marathon, (3) slaying the robber Sinis, (4) punishing Prokrustes; and on the north side, Theseus (5) overpowering Periphetes, (6) wrestling with Kerkyon, (7) punishing Skiron, (8) capturing the sow of Krommyon.<sup>1</sup>

In lower relief are the two friezes, of which the west,<sup>2</sup> or secondary one, is occupied with a combat of Greeks against Centaurs, on the occasion of the marriage-feast of Peirithöos, when Theseus was present, and by his valour added an immortal incident to his fame in the minds of the Athenians. There is no need to say how often Theseus and his exploits had been the subject of ancient art. Witness the Parthenon, the temples of Apollo at Phigaleia and of Zeus at Olympiä; or, to include painting, there was the Stoa Pœkile with Theseus fighting against the Amazons, and the battle of Marathon, at which he was seen to rise out of the ground.<sup>3</sup> Evidently the legends of Theseus were in the full tide of their popularity in the period immediately after the battle of Marathon. It is a proof of popularity when the same artistic motives are found in such different buildings as those just mentioned and in the Theseion; and it may be said that the more closely they resemble each other in any two of these temples, the nearer do they approach the time when the creation of them was first installed as a work of the highest art.

They are engraved also in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, iii. c. 1, pl. 13.

<sup>1</sup> The eight Theseus metopes are engraved in the *Mon. d. Inst.*, Arch., x. pls. 43-44, with text by Julius in the *Annali*, 1877, p. 92. They are engraved in Stuart, *loc. cit.*, pl. 13. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 261, gives two of them.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, iii. c. 1. pl. 14, and part of it in Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 263. Described by Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> These paintings were the work of Mikon (who executed most of the paintings of the Theseion) of Polygnotos (according to Suidas, s. v. Πολύγνωτος) and of Panænos. Pausanias, i. 15. 3; v. 11. 6.

To say that the motives of these scenes had been produced under the impulse of public pride in the deeds of Theseus, precisely at the moment when his bones were brought to Athens, would be unwarrantable, since they had long before existed in a more or less rude and undeveloped state ; and it may be doubted whether this is not equally applicable to those representations of the eight labours of Theseus in the metopes, which, though obviously invented on the model of the labours of Herakles, have not yet been proved to have come first into existence along with the red-figure vases, as they are called.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the east frieze of the Theseion has been a source of perplexity, except as regards the two groups of seated figures towards each extremity ; they undoubtedly are deities looking on at a combat. The group on the left consists of Athena,<sup>2</sup> Hera, and Zeus. The group on the right, with a symmetrical correspondence in the position of the figures, represents, it may be, Poseidon and two deities, whose names are not known with certainty, perhaps Demeter and Apollo. These six deities are to be regarded as invisible ; otherwise, it would seem, for example, that one of the combatants is in the act of rushing in among them

<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 42-44, gives list of red-figure vases with the cyclic labours of Theseus, and argues that previously Theseus figured mainly in his adventure in Crete with the Minotaur or with Ariadne. But these early red-figure vases may go back to the time of Polygnotos.

<sup>2</sup> Athena is drawn by Stuart as wearing a helmet, and is thus certain (*Antiquities of Athens*, iii. c. 1, pl. 14) ; nor is there any reason to be doubtful about the other two.

See Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 267, and Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 137. Here it should be said that in Stuart's engraving the slab with the three deities on the right is moved one place too far to the left, an error which Ulrichs set right in the *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1841, pl. r. Curiously Leake had not observed this, and praises the want of symmetry, which in fact did not exist (*Topography of Athens*, i. 506).



without producing any concern on their part. Neither group has any share in the action. Both are clearly interpolated, and, doubtless, were readily recognized as such by the Greeks. Then it may be asked why the gods sat apart, as if in rivalry among themselves; the one group favouring the one set of combatants, the other the other set, as in the Trojan war. There is, however, no reason to suppose any such rivalry; for it will be seen by reference to the east frieze of the

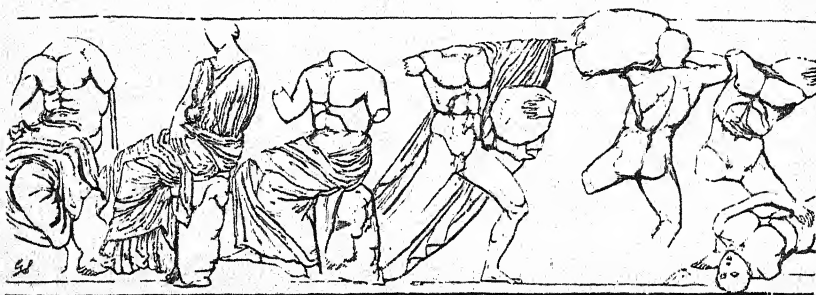


Fig. 63.—Part of east frieze of the Theseion.

Parthenon, that the gods there also sit in two distinct groups, though they have only one common interest as spectators; and in this instance it has been shown<sup>1</sup> that the separation of the deities into two groups is nothing more than a sculptor's device to represent an assemblage of figures seated in the background, possibly in the form of a semicircle, and in reality constituting only one body, such as a painter would easily have rendered by means of perspective. If this result be applied to the gods of the Theseion frieze, they will necessarily be conceived as constituting one group of six figures seated in the

<sup>1</sup> I published this view of the Parthenon frieze with an explanation in detail, and a plate showing how a painter would have treated

the subject, that is to say, giving a realistic conception of the subject, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1879, p. 139, pl. 21.

background, and looking on with equal interest on the combat.

With the gods thus removed, there remains a battle which for a time was believed to be a gigantomachia, or war of Gods and Giants. But this belief rested mainly on the huge stones which some of the combatants employ as weapons of attack. There is no sign of a deity in the fight itself, as there should have been. Nor did that war concern Theseus. Hence it has been urged that a more appropriate explanation of the frieze might be found in the war of Theseus and his Athenian allies against the rival family of the Pallantidæ, or in the battle fought in the rocky district of the demos Pallene against Eurystheus ;<sup>1</sup> who, when Herakles had been translated to Olympos, seized the opportunity of pursuing his descendants into Attica, whither they had fled for protection from Theseus ; or lastly, the war of Theseus with his Athenians against Eurystheus with his Peloponnesians, and specially the battle at the rocky Skironian pass, where Pausanias afterwards saw the tomb of Eurystheus.<sup>2</sup> According to this view, the encounter with rocks took place in the Skironian pass. Besides this we have a battle, attended by the flight of the Peloponnesians, and at either end the final scene :

<sup>1</sup> This is the view of Ulrichs, in the *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1841, p. 76. He supports it by reference to the legend as given in the *Herakleidæ* of Euripides, except that where the poet gives Demophon, the son of Theseus, as the then ruler of Attica, he takes Theseus himself on the strength of other traditions. Leake, *Topography of Athens*, p. 505, calls it a Gigantomachia.

<sup>2</sup> This is the theory of Brunn, *Berichte der bayer. Akad.*, 1874,

p. 58, who so far shares the opinion of Ulrichs, but declines to follow with him the authority of Euripides (cf. Pausanias, i. 44. 10). Brunn here discusses the legend with great detail. At p. 61 he admits the difficulty of identifying Eurystheus in the figure which is being bound and prisoner, but contends that it can be no other. Ulrichs also had identified him as Eurystheus, referring to the *Herakleidæ*, where he is led prisoner to Alkmene (v. 929).

on the left Eurystheus is being bound prisoner ; on the right the group is too much injured to be made out, farther than that the fighting is over. In the legend Eurystheus was bound and slain. So far there would, perhaps, be no obstacle raised to this explanation, if it were not for the presence of the gods, for which it is to be wished that some more definite solution could be obtained.

From an artistic point of view the figures of this frieze may, perhaps, be pronounced more advanced than those of the metopes of the Parthenon.<sup>1</sup> But, as has already been said, if a comparison is to be made, it must be frieze against frieze, and on such terms it cannot fail to be interesting. In both there are seated deities, whose attitudes, forms, and drapery may be contrasted. In the Parthenon every action has its motive in peace. In the Theseion also are scenes of comparative quiet, but even in the combat there are figures to be found resembling in form, attitude, armour and dress, the apobataë, who leap on to their chariots in the Parthenon frieze, and from among whom we may select one in the north frieze (Michaelis, No. 57—Brit. Mus. No. 41) for its resemblance in these respects to the warrior No. 16 in the Centaur frieze of the Theseion.<sup>2</sup> In beauty there is no comparison between these figures. For the soft flesh and supple limbs of the Parthenon apobates, the easy movement of his neck, the skilful perspective of his left arm, the subordination of his shield and his drapery, and the enjoyment of bodily life reflected in every movement, are contrasted in the

<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 56, after admitting that the sculptures of the Theseion are all from one hand or one school, maintains his opinion that they are later than the Parthenon, and were executed by pupils

of Pheidias. Cf. also p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> In numbering the figures of the Theseion friezes, I have counted from left to right each figure as given by Stuart.

Theseion figure by formal movement, decorative effect of shield, and partly also of drapery, stiffness of neck, hardness of anatomical forms made according to rules rather than from the inspiration of life. Or we may take from the west frieze of the Theseion the Greek No. 12, and compare him with an apobates (Michaelis, No. 74) of the south frieze of the Parthenon, because of the attitude and armour, if not quite so well on the question of drapery; or again, the Greek No. 7 of the Theseion (west frieze), turned to the front and firmly planted to deal a blow, may be placed side by side with two marshals on the north frieze of the Parthenon (Michaelis, Nos. 44 and 58). In all three figures the forms, attitudes and drapery are the same in appearance, but in reality the Theseion figure differs from the others with precisely the same results as have just been noticed. Nor are these the only instances that could be adduced.<sup>1</sup> They are chosen as characteristic examples from a considerable number, and here it may be repeated that in the Theseion, but not in the Parthenon frieze, a degree of decorative effect, such as was common to archaic sculpture, is to be found in the conspicuousness of the shields, and in certain examples of drapery, where it does not follow the forms underneath, but is treated rather for its independent beauty of folds. Less obviously, perhaps, the same effect may be seen in

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<sup>1</sup> As additional examples on the east frieze of the Theseion, (1) the warrior apparently rushing into the group of deities on the right may be compared with any of the apobatæ of the Parthenon; (2) so also the warrior on the left of the so-called Eurystheus is similar to an apobates; (3) the standing figure on extreme left end of frieze will find comparison

among the standing figures on the west frieze of the Parthenon; and (4) on that same frieze the figure stooping to bind his sandal is to be compared with the figure stooping to bind Eurystheus in the Theseion. Of course these comparisons exist only in motive and general appearance. In beauty of form, vitality of movement, and freedom of treatment, the comparison fails.



the hard correctness of forms, and the stiffness which accompanies even the most energetic actions, but tells most in the figures standing at rest, or nearly so. These features are the result of traditional training, which the sculptor has been unable to shake himself free from, and, therefore, they afford a sound argument that he had lived and worked at Athens previous to, and not after, the time when the frieze of the Parthenon introduced perfect freedom in these respects.

It has been said that the two temples which represent with the greatest resemblance to each other the combat of Greeks against Centaurs, may most reasonably be assumed to have been nearer than the others to the time when the various groups of the battle were originally inspired in the sphere of high art. These two temples are the Parthenon, with its southern metopes, and the Theseion, with its western frieze. The difficulty is to judge which is the older of the two, and for this purpose only artistic reasons can be made available, since, as has been seen, it is still a question whether the Theseion is or is not properly so-called. Had its name been certain, it would naturally have been older than the Parthenon by some years,<sup>1</sup> and this is, in fact, what is argued on the one side. But first as to the resemblance of artistic motives, on which there need be no difference of opinion;<sup>2</sup> group 1 of the Theseion compares with the 4th metope of the Parthenon, group 2 with the 24th metope, group 3 perhaps with the 5th

<sup>1</sup> The Theseion may not have been finished till some years after the bones of Theseus were brought back, B.C. 469-8. The Parthenon was completed B.C. 438, and had been begun B.C. 454-3, according to Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 9, as against the older opinion that it had been begun B.C. 443.

<sup>2</sup> The comparison of the southern metopes of the Parthenon with the west frieze of the Theseion in favour of the greater antiquity of the latter is made by Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 221, and with the opposite view by Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

metope, group 4 shows too many figures for a metope, group 5 with the 7th metope, group 6 with the 1st metope, group 7 with the 30th metope, and group 8 with the 11th metope, which, however, exists now only in Carrey's drawing. Further it may be admitted that there is a want of unity in the frieze altogether as compared, for example, with that of the Mausoleum, and that it lends itself readily to be broken up into a series of distinct groups, whence it is supposed<sup>1</sup> that the motives of them had been taken from the Parthenon metopes, and by means of connecting figures utilized for the purpose of a frieze. But this is equivalent to forgetting that the great drawback to the Parthenon metopes consists in their representing by isolated groups what everyone must feel ought to have been exhibited in a continuous scene. The natural inference would therefore be that the partial separation of the groups on the Theseion had suggested the utilizing of the same motives for the metopes of the Parthenon. That the groups should be thus partially separated on a frieze is a result of that principle of violent and murderous action which we have seen pervading archaic sculpture. The Mausoleum frieze shows how in time all this was changed, and how death-blows could be given without the exhibition of excited passions. Yet this is to be said for the Theseion as compared with the Parthenon metopes and the frieze of Phigaleia, that there are no women dragged into the scene to be exposed to the violence of the Centaurs.

Next it is urged, in point of artistic execution, that the frieze of the Theseion is more advanced than the metopes of the Parthenon in the expression of pathetic situations, more effective in the rendering of drapery,

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<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

and bolder in its action.<sup>1</sup> That is a matter of opinion, which may be of little consequence either way, when it is remembered that the metopes in question retain on purpose a stateliness and severity of movement noticeable also in a less degree on the frieze, which, compared with the other sculptures of the Parthenon, has been described as archaic, while the sculptor of the frieze of the Theseion, much as he may have desired to break through the older traditions of severity and stateliness of movement, has far from succeeded. His archaism is there by force, and marks a stage in the development of sculpture. The archaism of the metopes of the Parthenon is unaccountable unless retained by choice.<sup>2</sup> Again, if the Theseion is to be proved to be later and more advanced than the Parthenon, the comparison must be not with the metopes of the latter, but with its best sculptures, or at least with its frieze, because, even had the principal motives of the Theseion frieze been derived from these metopes, the same increase of freedom and boldness would have been expected, which is found in the frieze of Phigaleia. But it is not so. There is no indication on the Theseion that the conflict arose at a marriage feast, there are no women present as on the Parthenon, and no drinking vessels, as there, freely used instead of rocks. Possibly these facts constitute no argument either way. But this at least is admitted, that the group (4) with two Centaurs

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<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> On the archaism of the Parthenon metopes see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 127-9, who supposes that Pheidias in so great an undertaking may well have employed assistant sculptors who had been trained in the older schools of Myron or Kritios. But where the

difference of style is so striking, that is a suggestion not to be entertained. Brunn also recognizes in some of the metopes an influence which he would trace to Myron (*Annali*, 1858, p. 381), and Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 227, admits the same.

combining to force Kaineus alive down into the ground with a huge rock on his head, and with a Greek advancing on either side to the rescue, could not have been obtained from the Parthenon; and if that is an impossibility, it would be reasonable to trace the motives of the other groups to the same source, wherever it may be. It has been observed that the friezes of the Theseion have a certain pictorial effect, and to make this observation more definite it may here be pointed out that in groups (3) and (5) on the west frieze the Centaurs turn their backs towards the spectator, and that in the east frieze several figures present a similar attitude. That this is the device of a painter it is unnecessary to remark.<sup>1</sup> A sculptor who adopts it could not have been led to take advantage of this resource from his ordinary practice of working in the round. In the Parthenon metopes all the Centaurs are turned round to the front, more or less, but the necessity of this is apparent when it is observed that the human body of the Centaur, if seen in profile, would have presented a very meagre and unpleasant continuation of the equine body. On the Theseion the human body of the Centaurs is small in proportion to the rest of the figure; in the

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<sup>1</sup> On the subject of pictorial effect I may here call attention to the theory of Brunn, *Berichte der Bayer. Akad.*, 1876, p. 315, on the early sculpture of Northern Greece, and (p. 337) especially its influence in Athens, whither it had been brought by Polygnotos, who, it is to be remembered, is said to have worked with Mikon on the paintings of the Theseion. Compare also his article on the Sculptures of Olympia, *Berichte der Bayer. Akad.* 1877, p. 1, where he deals more fully with the features of the

school of Northern Greece, as represented by Pæonios of Mende. I do not say that the friezes of the Theseion present the special features which he recognizes as coming from the north, but if Polygnotos introduced a pictorial influence into the sculpture of Athens, as seems probable enough, I may be allowed to recognize part of it in the invention of motives, which in fact is the most likely direction that pictorial influence would have taken.



Parthenon metopes it is large and imposing, while in the Phigaleian frieze it is distinctly the dominant feature. Whether this change represents a regular progression in the rendering of Centaurs is perhaps uncertain. But as to the pictorial effect of the Theseion frieze it may well be that it was derived from the paintings of Mikon and Polygnotos, who painted the same subjects in the course of the generation preceding Pheidias, and painted them in the Theseion.

An examination of the Centaur frieze as a piece of composition shows that the group at either end forms a boundary to the scene, intimating at the same time the stage at which the combat has arrived. On the left extremity a Greek has fallen, and can scarcely escape the impending blow. On the right a Greek is in the act of driving his sword into the body of a Centaur, who also, it may be expected, will succumb. Proceeding from the left we meet next two Greeks attacking a fallen Centaur, to whose aid another Centaur hastens, armed with a strong branch of a tree. It may be doubted if his succour is not too late, since he is followed by a Greek likely to defeat his object. Then we have the group of two Centaurs trying to bury Kaineus alive under a great rock. To his assistance a Greek strides forward from the right. But might is against him apparently. Next are two pairs of combatants. In the one the Greek has the better prospect, in the other, the worse. Lastly, a Greek has fallen helpless under the Centaur's attack. His companion may slay the Centaur, but will never revive his friend.

In regard to the metopes of the Theseion, so far as they represent the deeds of Theseus, it is urged<sup>1</sup> that

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<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt, *loc. cit.* p. 35, starts the archaic or black-figure vases with the theory of Gerhard, that on the labours of Herakles are of

the habit of representing him in scenes conceived on the model of the labours of Herakles did not, with one or two exceptions, such as his encounter with the Minotaur, exist till after the building of the Parthenon, and that from this time onward they contributed a favourite subject of vase painters. But the latter half of the argument, while true enough, does not compensate for the negative character of the other half, which any day may upset. On the other hand it has been observed<sup>1</sup> that the purely physical qualities of the figures are rendered with extraordinary skill, not only in the multitude of anatomical details, but also in the action and expression. Further, the knowledge of animal forms and movements is true to nature, and extensive. Thus there is altogether a concentration of talent on the exhibition of bone, flesh, and muscle. Skin is hardly indicated, and this is a contrast to the metopes of the Parthenon. Hair is neglected, and there is a singular absence of drapery. From these characteristics it is contended that the sculptor of the metopes was either Myron himself or some one directly under his influence, because, as has been seen, the same artistic peculiarities are attributed to him by ancient writers, because such copies as exist of his works justify this attribution, and because the date of his residence in Athens would coincide with that most generally accepted for the erection of the Theseion. What is true of the metopes must, it would seem, be true also of the friezes, and if the former are more

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common occurrence, while on the later or red-figure vases the deeds of Theseus are frequent, and proceeds with list of vases having the latter class of subjects. But many of the red-figure vases, including those in question, are clearly archaic in style, or sufficiently so

to be assigned to the period immediately before Pheidias. Therefore, even on its own ground, the theory as to the vases is particularly weak.

<sup>1</sup> Iulius, *Annali d. Inst. Arch.* 1878, p. 193.

severe and more openly archaic, that may have arisen, as has already been suggested, from their architectural isolation and the consequent necessity of preserving in them compactness and self-sufficiency of subject, qualities the expression of which archaic severity was admirably adapted to assist. As regards Myron himself it cannot well be supposed that these sculptures are from his hands. They may have his faults and his peculiarities, but they have not the style of so great a master. A pupil could have executed them, and it may reasonably be doubted if any but a pupil of his could have arrived at the result which still survives on the Theseion.

Another subject of discussion in this period of sculpture, in which the archaic manner had not yet finally disappeared, is formed by the metopes of the temple of Hera at Selinus in Sicily. Of the three temples there from which sculptures have survived, this is the most recent. Later, however, it cannot be than B.C. 409, the year in which the town was destroyed. Nor, indeed, is it probable that a work of such dimensions could have been carried out in the immediately preceding years back to B.C. 415, when the Athenian expedition against Syracuse and Selinus began.<sup>1</sup> But the sculptures require a date considerably earlier than this. They consist of, apart from a very much injured metope and certain fragments, four metopes, of which three are from the front or *pronaos*, representing (1) Herakles fighting with an Amazon, (2) Zeus and Hera, (3) Artemis and Aktæon; the fourth is from the *posticum*, and exhibits Athena striking down a giant.<sup>2</sup> In matters

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, Die Metopen von Selinunt, p. 69. in Benndorf, *loc. cit.* pls. 7-10, the fragments in pl. 11. The much

<sup>2</sup> These metopes are engraved injured metope is engraved by

of detail it is to be observed that in the female figures, the faces, feet, arms and hands, that is to say, wherever the flesh is visible, are sculptured of separate pieces of white marble, and fitted to their places on the coarser local stone in which the rest of the design is executed, thus producing the effect constantly observed on archaic



Fig. 64.—Zeus and Hera. Metope from temple at Selinus in Sicily.

vases where the flesh of female figures is painted white, an effect possibly sought after in imitation of the older statues of gold and ivory, in which the latter material took the place here assigned to the white marble. Yet this greater preciousness of material in

Serradifalco, ii. pl. 30. The three metopes of the *pronaos* were found in 1831, in the excavations made by the Duke of Serradifalco, and were published by him in 1834, in

his *Antichità della Sicilia*, vol. 2 ; pl. 31 gives Athena and Giant ; pl. 32, Artemis and Aktæon ; pl. 33, Zeus and Hera ; pl. 34, Herakles and Amazon.



the metopes, instead of being accompanied with greater artistic skill, is, on the contrary, treated with comparative neglect, as may best be seen by comparing the face of Hera with that of Zeus seated opposite to her (Fig. 64). She betrays no particular emotion. Her resistance, such as it is, is expressed by the backward movement of her arms. But no doubt for a moment remains about what the face of Zeus may mean. It wears the look with which on Mount Ida he confessed his burning love for Hera above all.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the face of Zeus in this respect surpasses the other male figures; yet with this allowance they will be found to be distinctly more advanced in expression than the female figures. Then there are inconsistencies to be considered as between the beard of Zeus, which is free in treatment, and his hair, which is formal and archaic in manner. Apparently also the drapery of Zeus is freer than that of Hera, which is archaic not only in the treatment, but also in the fashion and manner of wearing it. The under chiton of ribbed material seen on her left breast and shoulder is a garment which seems to have been discarded in sculpture, at least by the time of the Parthenon. Artemis and Athena also wear it. The upper chiton of Athena has the fringed edge<sup>2</sup> noticeable on the sculptures of

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xiv. 315:

Οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτέ μ' ὤδε θεὰς ἔπος, οὐδὲ  
 γυναικὸς  
 Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδά-  
 μασσειν.

The subject of this metope was recognized by Serradifalco, but it was K. O. Müller who first pointed it out as an illustration of the passage just given from the Iliad. Cf. Benndorf, *loc. cit.* p. 55, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed.

p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Benndorf, *loc. cit.* p. 69, cites this Attic fringe as tending to support his view that these metopes cannot well be older than the Parthenon. He assigns them to the period of B.C. 450-415, without attempting to narrow it farther. The Parthenon was completed in B.C. 438, and was begun apparently in B.C. 454. Cf. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 9.

the Parthenon, but that fact cannot be urged as an argument in regard to date, since the fringe in question may be seen on at least one bronze statuette<sup>1</sup> from Attica, strongly archaic in style. In all cases, excepting the beard of Zeus, the hair has the character of 'rude antiquity.' The attitudes, where they display action of the figure, are those of statues forced from their normal upright position, rather than of figures studied from the life. The type of Herakles is not that which became fixed in art. The realism with which both Zeus and the Amazon show their teeth, the one from pleasure the other from pain, must be held to be archaic.

These arguments—more or less decisive in favour of an archaism earlier than the date of the Parthenon, are at the same time opposed to certain artistic features which, according to the present standard of judgment, would be referred to a slightly subsequent period. Above all, the conception of the Zeus and Hera metope, with its peaceful incident calling on nothing but the finer feelings of the spectator, is not such as would be expected at a stage of sculpture when acts of violence constituted the favourite subjects. The forms of the male figures in the other metopes are in the large and massive style which was developed chiefly by sculpture in marble as compared with the finer forms and multitude of details introduced by the practice of sculpture in bronze. This breadth of style in the forms, it is argued, cannot be proved to have existed earlier than the marble sculptures of the Parthenon,<sup>2</sup> and hence it is inferred that the metopes in question must be of a

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<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum. This statuette had served as a stand of a mirror, and is particularly interesting as a work of archaic art.

<sup>2</sup> Benndorf, *loc. cit.* p. 69. That

the sculptor of these metopes had studied in an Athenian school, or at least had followed examples of Athenian sculpture, is not to be denied.

later date, it being more easy to account for the survival of archaic features such as have been pointed out, than to find reason for assuming that a broad style of treatment had come into existence before the time of Pheidias. On the other hand it has been seen in the instance of Kalamis, that his excellence lay especially in this direction. Nor can it detract from the great fame of Pheidias to suppose that his immediate predecessors had carried their art to an extent sufficiently advanced to form perfectly adequate models for the sculptor of the metopes of the Heræon at Selinus. For this reason they have been introduced in this place.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### POLYKLEITOS.

Relation of Polykleitos to Pheidias and Myron—Characteristics of his style mentioned in ancient writers—Compares with Myron better than with Pheidias—Chryselephantine statue of Hera—Imitations of it on coins—Hera Farnese—Hera Girgenti—Hera Ludovisi—The canon of Polykleitos—Statues of a Diadumenus and a Doryphorus—Statue of Amazon—Group of Astragalizontes—Statues of athletes.

IN ancient records it will be found that Polykleitos is compared to his advantage with Myron, and at other times to his disadvantage with Pheidias; and it has been usual to regard even the unfavourable comparison with Pheidias as more to his fame. At the same time, this inferiority of Polykleitos is not charged against him as if he had been acquainted with the works of Pheidias, and had constituted himself a rival. He had formed an independent school, and, so far as can be judged, had proceeded rather in the line of his fellow-pupil Myron; that is to say, in the development of the art of sculpture, so far as it was concerned with the perfect rendering of the human form. In this he surpassed Myron, and therefore, should take the next place, even though the dates of some of his works appear to fall rather in a time subsequent to the established reputation of Pheidias.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 9, speaking of Myron and Polykleitos, says they were *æquales atque condiscipuli*. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der*

*Gr. Plastik*, p. 10, says, I cannot think that the usual mode of placing Polykleitos after Pheidias in the history of Greek art, is right."



Nothing is more conspicuous in the character of Polykleitos than the fact that he was a sculptor who set himself against the tendency of his time. That tendency was towards freedom, which in the case of Myron, as has been seen, extended itself to the selection of such types as nature presented to his eyes, or, as in the case of Pheidias, permitted ideal conceptions of a scale hitherto unknown. But here arose an artist who himself made a statue which should be, and was, a model for sculptors in future ages. More than that, he wrote a defence of his proceeding.<sup>1</sup> It may have been that his aim was less at Pheidias and Myron than at others who followed indifferently in their train, or possibly for the most part in the train of Myron. But the incident remains incapable of other explanation than that he set himself firmly against the tendency of his time, and in favour of a special study of the human form under such conditions as would bring out all its natural features simultaneously in perfection. There was no absolute novelty in such a course. Kalamis had made a similar endeavour, and, in fact, the rapidity with which the art of sculpture was then seeking to exhaust its resources was likely to exercise on a calm, thoughtful temperament a sense of the necessity of restraint. Naturally the range of his subjects was narrow. From a broad point of view he may be said to have repeated himself. For in regard to two of his much famed statues it is recorded that they differed from each other as a manly youth differs from a youth-like man. Yet such subtlety of distinction was clearly in keeping with the character here assigned to him.

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 55: idem vocant liniamenta artis ex eo et doryphorum viriliter puerum petentes veluti a lege quadam. fecit et quem canona artifices See also *infra*, nos. 2, 3.

Again, he was singular in making statues which stood resting on one leg.<sup>1</sup> That he invented this attitude is in itself unlikely, though the phrase of Pliny bears this construction. It may mean solely that this attitude recurred in his statues to the extent of justifying the remark that it was a peculiarity of his. It was consistent with his aim; or, as it may rather be said now, the consistency with which he adhered to a particular motive, adds further proof that his aim really was subtlety and delicacy of distinction within narrow limits, as opposed to the freedom of others. His statues, adds Pliny, were almost all of one type, and as we should say, square-built (*quadrata*). Notwithstanding this they lacked weight and dignity. As an ancient critic puts it: he failed in attaining the grandeur of divine forms, but with mortal figures he surpassed all that was known of natural grace; and well aware of his own capacity he avoided, it is told, gravity and seriousness in a subject, on the principle that smooth cheeks were more within the compass of his art.<sup>2</sup> To Cicero's mind his statues showed the perfection of art, not in an absolute sense as the phrase could be applied to a work of Pheidias, where there might be shortcomings of execution, but in a technical sense. For it is to be remembered that Cicero is making a comparison which turns on the development of the art of sculpture from rude stages onwards, and in Polykleitos he finds the culmination.<sup>3</sup> No wonder that with such a master an

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 56: *proprium ejus est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse*. See *infra*, nos. 2. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7: *diligentia ac decor in Polykleto supra ceteros, cui quamquam a plerisque tribuitur palma, tamen,*

*ne nihil detrahatur, deesse pondus putant. Nam ut humanæ formæ decorem addiderit supra verum, ita non explevisse deorum auctoritatem videtur; quin ætatem quoque graviolem dicitur refugisse nihil ausus ultra leves genas.*

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* 18. 70: *pulchriora*

elaborate finish of details was a matter of the highest moment. Hence, apparently, the saying attributed to him that the most difficult part of his work was when the clay model came to the nail.<sup>1</sup> The precise meaning of the words may not be quite clear, but the context refers to exactitude; and, on the other hand, it is interesting to know that he was an artist who not only found difficulties, but knew how to express them epigrammatically—a phase of character which, after what has been already said of him, cannot be unexpected. He worked chiefly in bronze, using that of Delos as compared with Myron, who used the bronze of Ægina. What the difference may have been is unknown, though, probably, it was some firmness of quality such as may have assisted Polykleitos in earning the reputation of having perfected the art of casting in this material. Thus his skill did not end with the clay model. Instead of that, he was even distinguished in chasing in metal, so much so as to have surpassed Pheidias in this branch of art.<sup>2</sup> It may be that on this latter point the statement is inexact, first because otherwise there is no good reason for associating the Athenian sculptor with work of this class, and secondly, because the statement assigns to him the merit of having opened up a new field in art of this order prior to its being taken up by Polykleitos. So far as can be made out, chasing in metal was one of the oldest arts in Greece. In all respects it was an art that would attract Polykleitos.

etiam Polyclethi (signa) et jam plene perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solet.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Quæst. Conviv.* ii. 3. 2, speaking of the formation of a bird as being complete when the shell round it is formed, quotes as analogous the remark of Poly-

kleitos, *χαλεπώτατον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ὅταν ἐν ὄνυχι ὁ πηλὸς γένηται*. This expression he quotes again in *De Profect.* in *Virt.* 17. The Roman expression, *factus ad unguem*, seems to refer to a similar idea.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 56.

In the higher sphere of symmetry, that is, in the concentration of the action of a figure on one expressive motive, Polykleitos was noticeably less successful than Myron; though, at the same time, specially famed in this direction. Nor will this, probably, popular judgment seem strange when it is recollected that the vigorous action preferred by Myron would admit a far more telling application of symmetry than would the calm and placid statues of his rival, penetrated with this artistic quality as they must be assumed to have been. With this gift in a high degree, it is not singular that he was often named along with Pheidias, or that in the case of his statue of Hera he found a passable equivalent for the grandeur of a deity; such an equivalent, for example, as stateliness and reserve of expression. But this or a similar suggestion must be taken into account, if due authority is to be given to the ancient criticism that he failed in attaining the conception of divinity in his forms of deities. For a direct charge of this kind is not to be met by the general observation of others who merely classed him with Pheidias, nor even by the remark of one ancient writer in particular, who ascribes to him along with Pheidias the quality of grandeur and dignity in his divine forms, in contrast with other sculptors, who, by their grace and refinement, excelled in statues of human and inferior beings.<sup>1</sup> A statement so contrary to the rest of the evidence about Polykleitos, with his supremacy of grace and refinement, might be dismissed as a random association of two great contemporary artists, were it

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Halicar. de Isocrate, 3: δοκεῖ δὴ μοι μὴ ἀπὸ σκινοῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι τὴν μὲν Ἴσοκράτους ῥητορικὴν τῇ Πολυκλείτου τε καὶ Φειδίου τέχῃ κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχρον καὶ ἀξιοματικόν, τὴν δὲ Λυσίου τῇ Καλά-

μιδος καὶ Καλλιμάχου τῆς λεπτότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνων οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι καὶ ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις εἰς ἐπιτυχέστεροι τῶν ἐτέρων, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ θειοτέροις δεξιώτεροι κ.τ.λ.



not for the impression, contained in the suggestion just made, that the more than mortal grace of the statues of Polykleitos gave them a standing in antiquity which fairly justified his being classed with Pheidias, as the writer in question has classed him. A modern historian<sup>1</sup> thus distinguishes between them: "With Pheidias the ruling power was the ideal in his mind, and in the statue of Zeus he seized the highest ideal of which Greek art was capable. Physical form was to him first of all only the means at his disposal for realizing artistically his ideal; and, accordingly, beauty of form was of use to him only so far as it coincided with the grandeur of his ideal. But Polykleitos proceeded from the opposite or physical point of view. By study of the proportions and laws of the human form he avoided every blemish, and succeeded in producing statues which transcended ordinary nature, and attained a higher truthfulness of organic form. They expressed an ideal of perfection in the human form, and with this ideal as the end and aim of his art, the range of subjects to which he could apply it was clearly limited. He could not, for example, choose a figure of Zeus, with whom were associated age and bearing, inconsistent with the highest purity of form." True and just as this comparison of the two artists may be, a comparison equally true and just could be instituted between Polykleitos and Myron, and there would be this gained by it, that the perfection of form aimed at by the one, instead of being altogether a natural choice, would appear to have been deliberately settled on and maintained to counteract the tendencies towards freedom for which the other was distinguished. Besides, both artists chose to an extent subjects of the same nature, so that, whether intentionally or not, the opposition of their methods

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<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 226.

must have been obvious. That Polykleitos worked partly with this motive we have already inferred from the statues he made to be models for the future. Doubtless, there was cause to be alarmed at the rapid tide of art when Myron was at his best. Against Pheidias such an effort would have been absurd. Nor does this view of the case lessen the reputation of Polykleitos. On the contrary, by assigning his desire for perfect human form to a settled purpose of this kind, instead of identifying it as his all-absorbing faculty, we are left free to admit in him the possession of other and even higher gifts.

His fame centred largely on the gold and ivory statue of Hera at Argos, the town where he had learned his art under Ageladas, and where he had established himself as a master. The occasion which called for this new statue is generally assumed to have been the erection of a new temple to that goddess, rendered necessary by the burning<sup>1</sup> of the older Heræon in B.C. 423, through a fault of the aged priestess Chrysis, who, after fulfilling her high office for a period of fifty-six and a half years, yielded once, or perhaps only once too often to the influence of sleep when her lamp was burning. She fled, and the Argives, sensible of their loss, thought it best not to remove the statue which existed in her honour, but to place it in front of the ruins which they allowed to remain. A new priestess was appointed, and a new temple built on lower ground near the old one. It might be thought, considering the distance of the Heræon from the town of Argos, that

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<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, iv. 133, tells how the temple was destroyed in the 9th year of the Peloponnesian war, and the incident is repeated by Pausanias, ii. 17. 7. who adds the fact about the statue of Chrysis and the ruins of the burnt temple.

According to Thucydides, ii. 2. Chrysis was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood when the Peloponnesian war began, and (iv. 133) she had served eight and a half years of the war when the fire took place.

very little could have been saved from the fire. Yet Pausanias describes in the new building several objects of art and veneration which must previously have stood in the older temple; not only because they were of greater antiquity than the conflagration, but, also, because from their nature they could not have been placed elsewhere than in a Heræon.<sup>1</sup> That the same should have happened to the great statue of the goddess by Polykleitos, and should have passed without record, is, doubtless, improbable, and it is a possibility which would not have been here suggested but for the comparatively late date (after B.C. 423) assigned to this work of sculpture in the usually received view of the question. It is true that Pliny<sup>2</sup> assigns him a still later date (B.C. 420—416), but there are no means of knowing to what period of his life this may refer, or whether there is any exactitude at all in a statement which otherwise appears to be a mere confusion of names (1). The statue of Hera, as has been said, was of gold and ivory, one of the most beautiful of all ancient works, yet yielding in splendour and size to those of Pheidias.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ii. 17. 5. These objects include what he calls an archaic image of Hera on a pillar; a very archaic image of her made from the wood of a pear tree; ii. 17. 3, the couch of Hera and the shield which Menelaos took from Euphorbos at Troy, and archaic statues of the Graces, who were associated with the worship of Hera.

<sup>2</sup> N. H. xxxiv. 49, classes as flourishing in the 90th Olympiad (B.C. 420—416), Polykleitos, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, &c., obviously a mere jumble of names. But Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 340, allows weight to this statement, coupling it with

the burning of the temple B.C. 423, and concludes that Polykleitos was from sixteen to eighteen years younger than Pheidias. It might be urged also that Strabo, viii. p. 372, when speaking of the Heræum, in which was the statue by Polykleitos, says that this temple was common to Argos and Mycenæ. Yet this could not have been true after B.C. 468, for in that year the Argives took and destroyed Mycenæ.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 372; Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, nos. 932—939. Pausanias, ii. 17. 4, gives a detailed description of it.

She was seated on a throne of gold, white-armed, sweet-faced, queenly. On the broad diadem which she wore were designs of the Graces and Seasons, for she was a goddess who cared for the growth and ripening in nature. In one hand was a pomegranate, the symbol of something which it was not right to divulge; in the other she held a sceptre surmounted by the figure of a cuckoo, in allusion to the belief that, when she was young, Zeus had transformed himself into such a bird to win her. It would follow reasonably from this that the statue had represented her in the stage of life just passed maidenhood, but yet with a reference to that period, and, in fact, it was one of the peculiarities of her worship at Argos that she was supposed annually to renew her maidenhood by bathing in the local spring of Canathus.<sup>1</sup> It was for this ceremony that the couch in her temple existed. No doubt it was always a feature of her character to resent every trespass against the rights of marriage; but to suppose her to have been so sculptured here, must mean also to suppose her in the position of one who is constantly harking back to the time when she was won by an innocent ruse. That could not have been an agreeable reflection, and it may be dismissed.<sup>2</sup> Consistently with this view of her youthful appearance, two coins of Argos,<sup>3</sup> which though of the Roman age are evidently copied from the statue

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ii. 38. 2. Leake, *Morea*, ii. p. 360, could not find the spring.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, i. p. 343, thinks she was represented as the worthy consort of Zeus, above all the protector of marriage. He does not notice her semi-virginal character at Argos. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 229, when he says she was the ideal of womanliness, expresses generally her ap-

pearance with justice: so also when he adds, she was not virgin, nor mother, but a wife. There is no reason, however, for his continuing that from a sense of her duties as such she had attained an almost sour character.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii.; Münzfl., iii. figs. 1, 2. The one is a coin of Julia Domna, the other of Antoninus Pius.



by Polykleitos, present her without the veil, which in the frieze of the Parthenon and elsewhere, indicates her matronly position. Similarly the head of Hera on the autonomous silver coins of Argos wears a deep ornamented crown, but no veil; and it is not denied that in this instance the die-sinker had reproduced to the best of his ability the type of the goddess as rendered by Polykleitos, though he may not have directly copied it.<sup>1</sup> His ability was indifferent, yet not so poor as to entirely conceal the fact that he had before him a noble example of a beautiful goddess in the prime of maidenhood. The same head occurs on silver coins of Elis, but with such skill as could not well be surpassed. Nor is it strange that this masterpiece also should have been thought to have been derived from the famous Hera of Argos. For the people of Elis were to an extent free to adopt ideas from the rest of Greece, and could take their Hera from Argos just as they took their Zeus from Athens.<sup>2</sup> They were on good terms with the Argives.

Thus the coins and the description of Pausanias agree in representing a Hera at the stage of her marriage, with special reference to it as the myth of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* at Argos required, and graced with the

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 44, and Gardner (*Numism. Chronicle*, N. S. xix. p. 239, pl. xii. fig. 2) deny that die-sinkers at this period copied directly from works of statuary. According to Gardner, *loc. cit.* p. 238, some of the coins of Argos are older than B.C. 400.

<sup>2</sup> For a silver coin of Elis with the head of Zeus in an unmistakably Athenian type and of extraordinary power, see Gardner, *Numism. Chronicle*, N. S., xix. pl. xii. fig. 1. As regards the silver coin

of Elis with the head of Hera, Overbeck and Gardner remain doubtful as to its being a direct copy from the statue by Polykleitos. According to Thucydides, v. 43, Elis and Argos were allies from B.C. 421 for a period of years (the alliance was to be for 100 years), and it may have been to inaugurate this alliance that Elis struck the coin with the head of Hera; but that of course affords no date as to the anterior period at which the statue by Polykleitos was made.

beauty which entitled her to enter the lists against Aphrodite and Athena for the judgment of Paris. But a question has been raised whether a type of the goddess created under specially local influences could have attained national acceptance in Greece, and whether in effect certain marble heads of her sufficiently prove this to have been the case. These heads are in particular the well-known Juno Ludovisi in Rome, the Hera Farnese in Naples, and the Hera from Agrigentum in the British Museum. There exists between them differences of style and in detail such as an ancient artist indulged in while remaining true to what was great in the original, and the question is, whether that original corresponds with the conception of Hera as a bride and Parthenos, which we maintain was the conception adopted by Polykleitos from its sanctity in Argos, or whether it corresponds with another ancient conception of her as a powerful Homeric goddess, the mother of Hebe.<sup>1</sup> In this latter capacity she wears a veil, and on that account this view of her character might be left out of consideration, since neither the marble heads nor the coins of Argos have a veil. On the other hand it is always possible that in the reproductions of her

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 37 (but compare p. 197), not thinking of the possibility of there being two national types and accepting only one, prefers to accredit the invention of it to Pheidias. He argues that in the national type the influence of Homer must have been recognisable, since it was said that Pheidias had been so influenced in creating his Zeus, and since generally poetry along with religion necessarily acted on the mind of the artist. He will not admit with Brunn, *Annali d. Inst.*, 1864, p. 298, that the Hera Farnese

answers to the Homeric *βοῶπις πόρνια* "Ἡρῆ, and in this I agree, but as there was in fact no reason at all why Polykleitos in making a specially Argive goddess should be influenced by Homeric traditions, and as it is quite possible that this specially Argive goddess became a national type, nothing is gained by searching for poetic influence. In Argos Hera was always *ἄνθελα*, and on the *ἑρὸς γάμος*, see Helbig, *Annali*, 1864, p. 276, and the mural painting Mus. Borbon. ii. pl. 59. Cf. also Pausanias, ii. 22. i.

head in after times something of the older and more matronly features may have become blended with the younger type, the more so if, as may fairly be presumed, the matronly Hera was a strict development of the creation of Polykleitos. Thus it will be seen that there



Fig. 65.—Marble head of Hera, in the British Museum. From Agrigentum.

may be difficulties when it is asked whether these marble heads present a style of artistic conception consistent with what is known of the Argive master.

To begin with the Hera of the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (Fig.

<sup>1</sup> This head is published by Helbig in the *Mon. d. Inst. ix. pl. 1* (from which it is here reproduced) with text in the *Annali*,

1869, p. 144, in which he compares it as holding a place midway between the Farnese Hera previously (*Annali*, 1864, p. 297) identified

65), it must be explained that this head has suffered con-



Fig. 66.—Hera Farnese. Marble head in the Naples Museum.

siderably, first, from a polishing down of the lips, which

by Brunn with the type *βοῶπις πόρνια* "Ἡρη, and the Juno Ludovisi which Brunn had declared to be a *πόρνια* "Ἡρη without the quality of *βοῶπις*. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 81, considers that the British Museum Hera expresses better than the Farnese head the totality of the idea of Hera, not only the earnest and severe queen of the gods, but also the lovely and loved wife of Zeus. Helbig sees something of the character of *βοῶπις* in her eyes, but in that it may be doubted if he is right. As

regards the theory of Brunn that the quality of *βοῶπις* is absent in the Ludovisi head, it should be remarked that there seems to be an allusion to this in the fillet which passes in front of her crown and falls at each side, since precisely the same fillet is found similarly placed over the head of an ox on silver coins of Eubœa, and occurs also on the heads of Hera on copper coins of Eubœa. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 88, while speaking of the fillet, has not observed this analogy.



have not only lost their finer and necessary lines, but now appear almost to gape, and, secondly, from a cutting down of her crown (stephanos) at both sides, which destroys the comparison of the head with the coins, if it does not materially injure the effect. This reduction of the crown, and especially the want of ornament on it, tend to exaggerate the demureness of the expression, while the destruction of the lips gives a heaviness to the lower part of the face at variance with her character as a bride. It may be also that something of the matronly type was imported into the face by the ancient copyist. Yet when seen in three-quarter view, where the injuries and defects are less appreciable, the face has a charm of natural beauty, not free and rejoicing in its own loveliness, but controlled by a fascinating reserve; in fact, uniting the more than mortal grace of Polykleitos with his unrivalled power of deducing a characteristic type from elaborate observation and thought, tending always in the direction of reserve in expression.

Between the Farnese head (Fig. 66) and that of Hera in the British Museum, though the type is evidently the same, there are minor differences. In the former the crown which she wears is smaller, and sets off the peculiar shape of the head with an effect partly lost in the other head. The eyelids extend farther over the eyes, giving them a marked expression, and the lines of the mouth and face, with one important exception, are well preserved. This exception is the tip of the nose, which is modern, while this feature in the Museum marble is not only complete, but a very distinct element in the beauty of the face, through its long and refined form. In point of expression also there is a difference; for it is true, with some allowance for impulse in the spectator, that the features of the Farnese Hera possess a certain wild, untamed, natural force and a degree of supernatural

*The lips have been  
restored longer by  
modern workmen*

power suitable to the goddess whom, in her anger, even the God of Thunder feared.<sup>1</sup> But that her eyes are cow-like, and answer to the Homeric epithet, is a matter of imagination. She looks rather younger than the Museum Hera, perhaps owing to the greater vitality of the features.

The Juno Ludovisi, with her rich crown and softened expression, still preserves the same type, but is an undoubtedly later copy, apparently with justice, assigned to the period after Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> All three heads are of Greek marble and Greek workmanship. But, curiously enough, the Farnese Hera appears to have been made as a bust, while the other heads may have been broken from statues. Notwithstanding this, it is with nearly general consent that she is regarded as not later in date than the middle of the 5th century B.C., and as the most beautiful existing example of the manner of Polykleitos;<sup>3</sup> not only of his manner generally, it may be added, but especially of his conception and rendering of Hera as a bride. To be proved true to his general manner, these three heads,

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<sup>1</sup> Kekulé, Hebe, p. 67. Helbig also, *Annali*, 1869, p. 149, confesses to a something strange, if not supernatural in her look, and regards her as the Homeric Hera. Both writers agree that from the form of her eyes she may be described as βοῶπις. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 72; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 106. Published in the *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. pl. 1, and first assigned to the conspicuous place it now holds by Brunn, *Bullet. d. Inst.*, 1864, p. 122, and *Annali*, 1864, p. 297. Friederichs does not agree with him as to the epithet of βοῶπις.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, *Annali*, 1869, p. 154; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 83; Kekulé, Hebe, p. 69, describes her as not before the age of Praxiteles, and gives an engraving of it, and for comparison also the head of Hebe belonging to Madame Stieglitz in St. Petersburg.

<sup>3</sup> Kekulé, Hebe, p. 66; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 107; Helbig, *Annali*, 1869, p. 146; Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gr. Plastik*, p. 10, would probably place her at a rather earlier date. But Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 72, demurs to this.

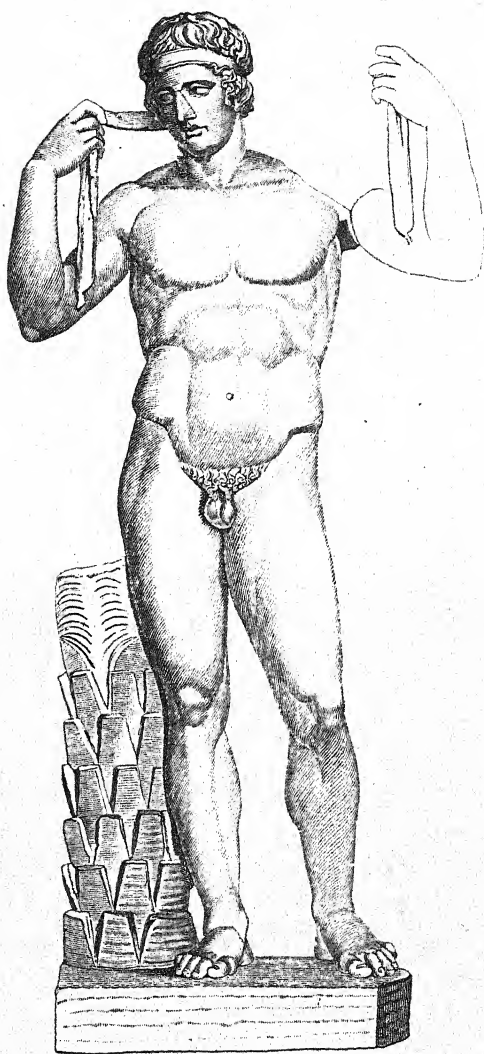
or at all events the first two, should correspond with the surviving copies of two other statues ascribed to him, if in fact these copies, representing a Diadumenus and a Doryphorus, can fairly be held to convey the impress of his hand.

(2-3). Ancient writers celebrate two statues by Polykleitos, one an athlete in the attitude of binding a diadem on his head, Diadumenus, the other an athlete holding a spear, Doryphorus, and they speak also of a figure by him, passing under the name of the Canon, or model from which artists derived their rules of art. It is not, however, clear whether this Canon was a statue distinct from one or other of the two just named.<sup>1</sup> Some prefer to identify it with the Doryphorus. Be that as it may, there exist now certain ancient statues in marble, statuettes in bronze and other representations plainly answering to figures of this description, and the question which has been the subject of repeated and prolonged inquiry is, how far these works of art reflect the style of Polykleitos. As a rule they make no pretension to the excellence of Greek work which characterises the Farnese and Girgenti heads. They are mostly later productions, and betray to a more or less mixed degree the subsequent influence of sculptors like Lysippos who in their turn modified the Canon of Polykleitos. An example of this influence acting on the older model of Polykleitos is to be seen in a terra-cotta statuette from Smyrna.<sup>2</sup> In it and in most

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 54. The passages from other writers are collected in Overbeck's *Antike Schriftquellen*, nos. 954-961. Conze, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*, p. 6, maintains the identity of the Doryphorus and the Canon. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 215, in-

clines to the opinion that the Canon was a distinct figure.

<sup>2</sup> This terracotta was published by me in the *Hellenic Journal*, vi., pl. 61, p. 243. Kekulé, *Hebe*, p. 64, gives the measurements of the head of the Doryphorus statue in Naples as compared with the



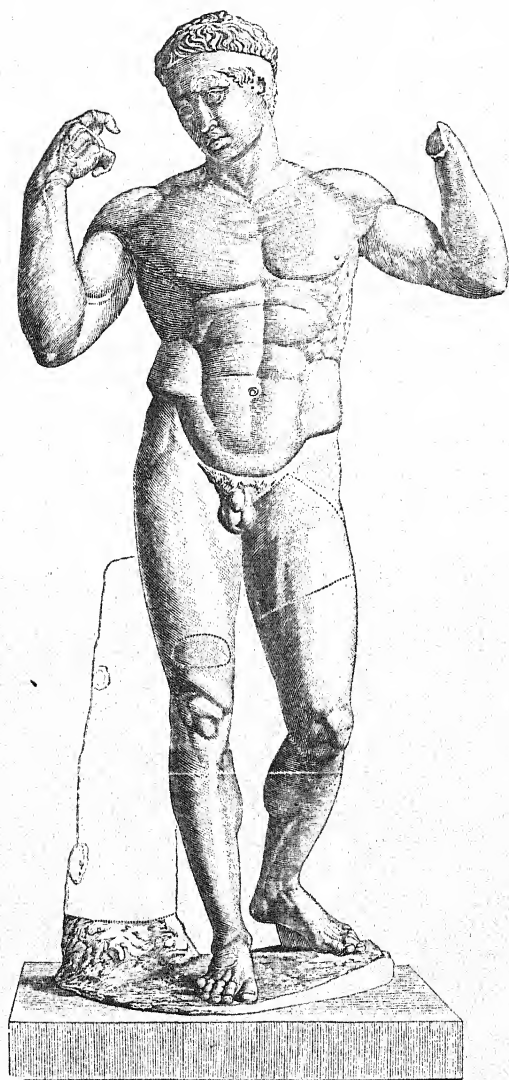
MARBLE STATUE OF A DIADUMENUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM THE FARNESE COLLECTION.

[To face p. 312.]







MARBLE STATUE OF A DIADUMENUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM VAISON, IN FRANCE.

*[To follow Plate IX. immediately]*



instances the type of head has been distinctly retained. Further, the peculiarity of Polykleitos, that his statues stood resting on one leg, is repeated.

On the other hand a difficulty arises with the words of Pliny, that of these two statues the one represented a young man of soft forms (*juvenis molliter*), while the other was a boy of manlike forms (*puer viriliter*), doubtless an instance of the subtle distinctions in which the art of Polykleitos excelled. But by no ingenuity can these characteristics be found in the existing copies.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the nearest approach is the Farnese Diadumenus of the British Museum (pl. 9), if he be taken as an example of a boy with manlike forms. The torso is strongly marked, as of an athlete, though the outline of the chest bones is softened down. The calves

Farnese Hera to show from their similarity that Friederichs was right in identifying the Naples statue as a copy of the Doryphorus of Polykleitos. It is published by Friederichs in the Winckelmanns Programm for 1863. See also his Bausteine, p. 118. But Conze, Beiträge, p. 6, maintains that there is no such similarity, and that the head of the Doryphorus in Naples, with other heads of the same type, are to be referred (p. 11) to a change introduced under Athenian influence, such a change as Furtwängler, Mittheilungen d. deutsch. Inst. zu Athen, iii. p. 292, finds in the Paris statuette, which he publishes in pl. 12. But an opposite view is taken by Benndorf, Zeitschrift f. Esterr. Gymnas., 1869, p. 260, Helbig, Bullet. d. Inst., 1869, p. 77,

and Kekulé again in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, 1869, p. 84.

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis gives in the Mon. d. Inst., x. pl. 49, three views of the Vaison Diadumenus, and in the Annali, 1878, pl. A, two views of the Farnese Diadumenus, both of which are in the British Museum. The former was published by me in the Encycl. Britannica, 9th ed. s. v. Archæology, fig. 7. In the Annali, 1878, pl. B, he gives two views of the De Janze bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque at Paris. In pl. 50 of the Monumenti he gives two views of the Naples Doryphorus, fig. 1, *a-b*, the Doryphorus in Florence, fig. 2, the Doryphorus on a gem in Berlin Museum, fig. 3, and two views of the Annecy bronze statuette, fig. 4, *a-b*. Our engravings are here reproduced from Michaelis.



of the legs and the feet are softly covered with flesh and rounded. The thighs also are fleshy rather than muscular, while down the back of the left thigh (the other is invisible) runs a sharp muscle, as in the leg of a boy rather than a man. Again, the face<sup>1</sup> is soft and young, while the large development of the skull, and the diminished proportions of the statue as a whole, are characteristic of youth. But the Vaison Diadumenus (pl. 10), also in the British Museum, while strictly preserving the same peculiar type of head, runs to extreme in the athletic development of the torso, the powerful and muscular legs, and the strong bony feet. Nor does he stand quietly resting on one leg, as he should do in the act of binding his diadem on; his attitude is impulsive, and may represent, as has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> the act of changing from one foot to the other, simultaneously with the raising of the diadem with both hands. Possibly this action had been from later influence incorporated with the original of Polykleitos. At all events its absence is remarkable in the Farnese figure, which altogether has much more the appearance of a copy from a statue, with much less of the influence of subsequent study, than the companion figure from Vaison. The De Janze bronze statuette approaches more to the Vaison than to the Farnese Diadumenus. The Museum of Cassel

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis, *Annali*, 1878, p. 19, recognizes in general terms that the Diadumenus is more soft in form, and owing to the inclination of his head, more soft also in expression than the Doryphorus, of which Quintilian, 5. 12. 21, said: *Doryphorum illum aptum vel militiæ vel palæstræ, aliorum quoque juvenum bellicosorum et athleta-*

*rum, corpora, &c.* Cf. Friederichs, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1864, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, *Annali*, 1878, p. 28, quoting Pliny's words about Polykleitos: *proprium ejus est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse*, thinks the phrase refers to the act of changing from one foot to another. See also Petersen, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1864, p. 131.

possesses a head of a Diadumenus in Parian marble, much praised for its beauty.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Doryphorus, it was for a time not quite clear to everyone that the statue in Naples (pl. 11)<sup>2</sup> had necessarily, when perfect, held a spear, though comparison with a gem in the Berlin Museum went far to prove it. Lately, additional evidence has been brought forward in a marble relief found at Argos itself, with a youth standing in the familiar attitude of the statues of Polykleitos and carrying a spear over his shoulder.<sup>3</sup> As a copy it is not materially affected by the circumstance that the youth stands beside a horse. But again, though the statues in Naples and Florence might represent a Doryphorus, it was sometimes doubted whether they could fairly be traced to the original by Polykleitos. Much must depend on how far they agree with the copies of the Diadumenus, and how far both sets of copies coincide first of all with the records and next with the style of art traceable in the heads of Hera already discussed. After what has been said, there remains only the question of their similarity to the statues of the Diadumenus, and on this point there is no need of details, since recent investigation has settled it affirmatively.<sup>4</sup> Attention, however, may be called to a bronze statuette in the British Museum, which is a very beautiful example of Greek workman-

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Conze's *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*, pl. 2. See Michaelis, *Annali*, 1878, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, *Monumenti*, x. pl. 50, fig. 1, *a-b*. Compare the Florence statue in his fig. 2, the Berlin gem in his fig. 3, and the Annecy bronze statuette, fig. 4, *a-b*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mittheilungen d. deutsch. Inst. zu Athen*, iii. pl. 13, with an article by Furtwängler, who assigns it to the middle of the 4th century

b.c., as a vivid product of its own time, in which nevertheless the type of Polykleitos was the Canon, though in details his hardness and severity were given up (p. 288). In pl. 12 he gives a bronze statuette in Paris which corresponds in the main with the types of the Doryphorus, though it actually represents a young Pan (p. 292).

<sup>4</sup> Michaelis, in his elaborate article in the *Annali*, 1878.

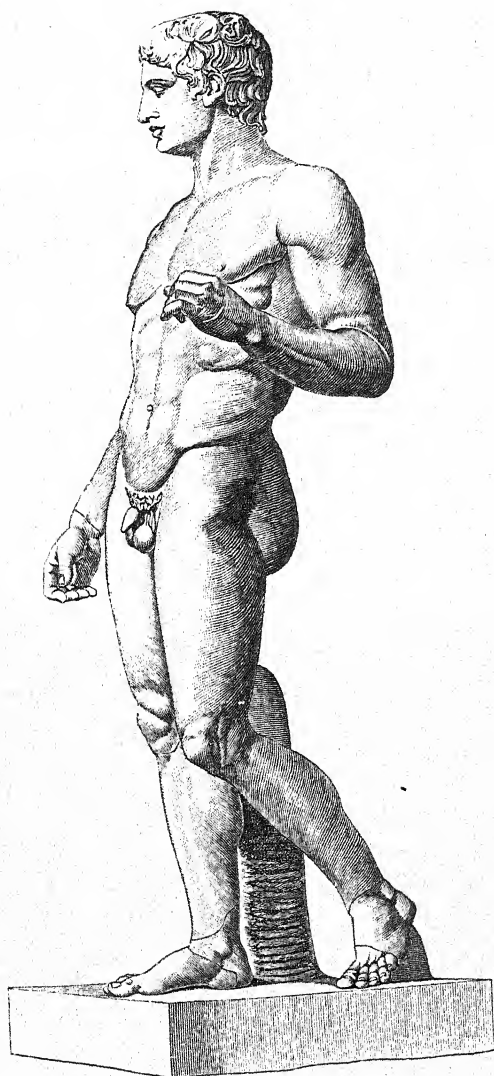
ship, and ought not to have been overlooked.<sup>1</sup> It stands resting on the left leg, not the right as usual. The head is of the type of Polykleitos, and is inclined towards the left, just as that of the Vaison Diadumenus is inclined towards his right. In the proportions the torso is long compared with the legs, and is, as a whole, very massive and powerful, without any special display of individual parts. Everywhere the modelling is of great excellence, completing the effect of quiet dignity in the attitude. Yet there is in it a distinct degree of the archaic manner, such as, apart from any question of Polykleitos, would cause it to be assigned to the early part of the 5th century B.C. Still more archaic is a bronze statuette of a Doryphorus in the Louvre, as may be seen from the treatment of the hair, in short curls over the brow, long tresses on each shoulder, and a mass at the back tied up in a knot.

(4.) The passive beauty of Polykleitos, admirably suited to the youthful goddess Hera, or to an athlete triumphant through the perfection of his form, was, it may well be thought, the one quality which would tell with most effect in the statue of an Amazon—that legendary race which, whatever its prowess in deeds of war, was above all known for the suppression of its feminine instincts, for its passiveness in respect to these instincts. In the Amazons the womanly element existed in a high degree, but was kept under rigorous control, and it was the duty of an artist in representing them to accentuate this conflict between a settled purpose in their character and an exuberance of natural adaptability for an opposite

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<sup>1</sup> It was published by me in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th ed. s. v. *Archæology*, fig. 6. The forms are those of a man, and yet it might be called the figure of a manlike boy. The bronze statuette

in the Louvre, referred to in the text as distinctly archaic, is about 1 ft. high. In the same collection is another bronze statuette of a Doryphorus, resembling in type the Vaison Diadumenus.



MARBLE STATUE OF A DORYPHORUS IN NAPLES.

*[To face p. 316.]*





life. If he figured one of them wounded he placed the wound close to her full breast, as ancient statues plainly



Fig. 67.—Marble statue of wounded Amazon. Berlin Museum.

show. Here then was an opportunity for Polykleitos, with his skill in subtle distinctions of form and expression. The story runs, and it must be read running,

with little criticism, that at Ephesus there was once a competition of famous sculptors for the statue of an Amazon. The terms of the competition were simple but ingenious. When the artists were all present, each was to say which of the statues he thought best next to his own. The verdict fell to the statue by Polykleitos.<sup>1</sup> The artists were, besides him, Pheidias, Kresilas and Phradmon. As a rule no tale is so ridiculous as to be without one grain of truth, and in this case it may fairly be taken that the nucleus was provided by some success of Polykleitos in producing a statue of an Amazon which, according to public opinion, surpassed all that could be done by the great masters of his day. If this be a just interpretation, it will follow that there is no use in searching among the existing statues of Amazons for such differences as may be apportioned to Pheidias, Polykleitos, Kresilas or Phradmon. They must be treated simply as copies or variations of the type of Polykleitos, and if in any instance the variation be too great, the statue can be assigned to an independent master without reference to this story.<sup>2</sup> That she was wounded is

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 53: tenere autem in certamen laudatissimi quamquam diversis ætatibus geniti quoniam fecerant Amazonas quæ cum in templo Dianæ Ephesiæ dicarentur placuit eligi probatissimam ipsorum artificum qui præsentibus erant iudicio, cum apparuit eam esse quam omnes secundum a sua quisque iudicassent; hæc est Polyclitii, proxima ab ea Pheidias, tertia Cresilas, &c. For ætatibus Müller's conjecture of civitatibus has been adopted, but the sense of the passage gains little by it; Müller, *Kl. Schrift.* ii. p. 369, and see O. Jahn on the Ephesian Amazons in the *Berichte d. k. sächs.*

*Gesell.* 1850, p. 32, pls. 1-6; and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 345, fig. 69, *a-d*.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 346, recognizes in the existing statues three separate types of Amazons, which yet in style and in the motive resemble each other in such a way as would happen from a competition where the motive was chosen beforehand. But there is no reason whatever to suppose such a choice to have been made. Admitting this, however, it would follow from the fact of the Amazon by Kresilas being wounded, that the others were also wounded. So that to separate off

highly probable, for this reason, that the wound would supply a motive which otherwise a single statue of an Amazon could not well possess. Besides, it may be taken that the statue was made on commission from Ephesus, where it was an important tradition that the Amazons when pursued had found refuge at the altar of Artemis.<sup>1</sup>

To begin with the marble head in the British Museum (Fig. 68), which, while preserving the type familiar in the other heads and statues, may justly be said to far excel them as a work of art. The treatment of the hair, with its flicker of light and shade, unsuitable for marble, shows that it has been copied from a bronze original. More than that, it shows that the copy has been faithful as compared with not a few of the other heads of Amazons, where the original treatment peculiar to bronze has degenerated into mere ropes of hair, without truth to the original or to anything else. The shape of the head, high in the crown, flat on the sides and on the cheeks, but massive and long in the front aspect, is such as has been seen to have been a shape of head adopted by Polykleitos, if not created by him.

such of the existing statues as bear a wound to Kresilas is not, under the circumstances, justifiable. Overbeck concludes that the types of Pheidias and Polykleitos have not yet been identified definitely, though he attaches most weight to the probability of the Amazon in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican being a copy of the statue by Polykleitos, owing to the resemblance between its head and the head of the Doryphorus statues. This subject has been very fully discussed by Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.* 1886, p. 14, and pls. 1-4.

<sup>1</sup> See Klügmann, *Annali d. Inst.*

*Arch.* 1869, p. 278, where also will be found an article on the Berlin Amazon (fig. 54), engraved in the *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 12, which he thinks (p. 279) goes back to the original by Polykleitos. For other figures of Amazons see O. Jahn, *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell.* 1850, pls. 1-6, and Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pls. 265, no. 2033, pl. 808, no. 2031A, and no. 2038A, pl. 809, no. 2029-30, pl. 811, no. 2031, and 2036, pl. 812, no. 2032, pl. 812B, nos. 2032A, B, pl. 813, nos. 2034 and 2037, pl. 833B, no. 2032 c.



The expression is that of a wounded Amazon—not such an expression as might be discovered in this or that feature, in the mouth or the eyes, but one which pervades the whole face, and belongs to the order of ideal creations that defy analysis but yet haunt the spectator as perfect types.<sup>1</sup>

Next may be taken one of the statues in the Capitoline Museum, which, though having a head that does not belong to it, and though on the whole poor in the



Fig. 68.—Marble head of Amazon, in the British Museum.

rendering of the drapery, can yet be recognized as retaining more of the original impress than the others. In particular, the vertical folds hanging down in front are given with great beauty and in a slightly archaic scheme not to be found in the other statues. Altogether the skirt of her chiton is cleverly rendered, though sharing with most of the other statues that peculiar

<sup>1</sup> This head is engraved in the *Museum Marbles*, x. pl. 5. The tip of the nose is restored, but enough of the nostrils remain to

show that originally it had resembled the nose of the Girgenti Hera in the British Museum in the peculiarity of being long.

treatment in the smaller folds of the drapery, which doubtless was derived from a bronze original, but is now unintelligible through the degradation of the copyists. For even the Vienna Amazon, though it professes to give a definite archaic scheme of drapery, can scarcely be other than an example of affected archaicism.<sup>1</sup>

(5.) A group of two boys playing at knuckle-bones (Astragalizontes) would, at first sight, be ranked as one of those subjects from daily life which a not ill-grounded prejudice assigns to a lower order of artistic capacity, such as, from want of a high conception, seizes on the strongly expressed characteristics of face, form and action displayed in incidents of common life. On the other hand, a group of boys playing at knuckle-bones might well present to a sculptor not so much a general subject of this kind as an example of concentration of action on one moment. It was not necessary to observe and to realize individual features. But, in fact, there is no real necessity for assuming, as has constantly been done, that the group in question was meant to represent a scene from daily life. When Polygnotos, a perhaps slightly older contemporary of Polykleitos, painted a similar subject with girls for the players, he called them by the legendary names of Kameiro and Klytie, and no doubt idealized them in his own manner.<sup>2</sup> So, again,

<sup>1</sup> Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 115, adopts the Mattei Amazon in the Vatican as the best and the severest in style of the existing statues. It did not strike me as such. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. p. 347, fig. 69c, accepts her conjecturally as derived from Pheidias. The Capitoline Amazon described in the text is engraved in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 812B, no. 2032A. The Vienna Amazon

is given by Jahn, *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell.* 1850, pl. 6. The over-refinement, and at the same time luxuriance of the folds, together with the expression of sentimentality in the figure, go to prove it to be a work of later, imitative times.

<sup>2</sup> This group occurred among his paintings in the Lesche at Delphi, Pausanias, x. 30. 2.

in a beautiful terra-cotta group in the British Museum, the players are recognized from a comparison with an ancient painting in Naples, to be daughters of Niobe.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing of real life except in their action. But the sons of Niobe were equally famous with her daughters, and it is not too much to suppose that two of them may also have been represented as Astragalizontes. Nor is it an obstacle that Pliny<sup>2</sup> should have omitted their names. For it was a common practice with him to describe sculptures according to their predominant action, as Apoxyomenus, Doryphorus, Discobolus, Sauroctonus, Claudicans, and many others. Under these circumstances it may well have been that the Astragalizontes of Polykleitos formed a group of two boys familiar to the Greeks in legend, and idealized in a due degree. Part of a marble group of boys thus engaged exists in the British Museum, but in the style of the art there is no trace of the great Argive sculptor.

(6.) It has been thought also that the two bronze Kanephoroi mentioned by Cicero<sup>3</sup> may have to some extent been in the nature of *genre*, though the comparison of them with Athenian maidens in the attitude well known from ideal art is admitted to be against

<sup>1</sup> This terra-cotta group was published by me in the *Gazette Archéologique*, ii. p. 97. See also Heydemann in his *Winckelmanns Programm* (Halle), 1877, pl. 2, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> N. H. xxxiv. 55. *Duosque pueros (fecit Polykletus) item nudos talis ludentes qui vocantur astragalizontes et sunt in Titi imperatoris atrio—hoc opere nullum absolutius plerique judicant.* On the habit of Pliny in naming statues from their characteristic

action see Furtwängler in Virchow and Holtzendorff's *Sammlung Gemein. Wissen. Vorträge*, xi. p. 20 fol., and compare Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 2nd ed. i. p. 344. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.* p. 33, claims for Polykleitos the introduction of *genre* sculpture, and naturally from his point of view adopts the astragalizontes as convincing proof. It is the best proof he gives, and yet, as we have seen, it need not be any proof at all.

<sup>3</sup> In Verr. iv. 3. 5.

such a view. These figures were comparatively small (non maxima), and in thinking of them it is natural to call to mind the following piece of bronze sculpture, also by Polykleitos.

(7.) A figure of the Aphrodite of Amyklæ, as she was called, supporting a tripod,<sup>1</sup> and apparently since she was thus particularized, different from the Aphrodite of one of the other tripods which Pausanias saw at Amyklæ. What the difference may have been is uncertain. Yet the mere fact that she formed the support of a tripod suggests in itself a resemblance to the attitude of the Kanephoroi. It may have been some such type as in the accompanying figure.

(8-9.) Two statues of athletes, the one as an Apoxyomenus, the other talo incessentem, whatever that may here mean. The names are suggestive of Polykleitos, and there is no difficulty in admitting these sculptures to have been his work. It is otherwise, however, with the statue of Artemon called Periphoretos, not only from the mere improbability of his having ever taken such a subject, but specially from the fact of Artemon being an Athenian, and therefore not likely to have entered into the thoughts of Polykleitos.<sup>2</sup> Again, when statues

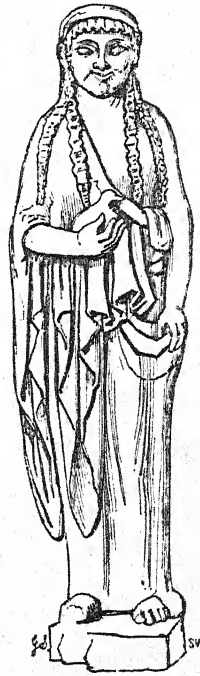


Fig. 69.—Statuette of Aphrodite.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias. iii. 18.5: Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλουμένην.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 55, mentions the two statues of athletes,

and the Artemon whose appearance and occupation in Athens are described in Plutarch, Vit. Pericl. 27. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, no. 966.



distinctly stated to be of marble are ascribed to a sculptor named Polykleitos, it seems fair to remember that there is no good authority for believing that the great Argive master of this name worked in such material. This applies to the Zeus Meilichios at Argos, and the figures of Apollo, Leto and Artemis on Mount Lykone.<sup>1</sup> As regards the Hermes which was once at Lysimachia, the Herakles Hagetor, and Herakles the Hydra-slayer, there is no evidence either way. There remains then the series of statues of victors in the games at Olympia, as to which it has been proved that in some cases they were the work of Polykleitos the younger, while the presumption is that the others also must have been by the same hand.<sup>2</sup> So far as a rule for distinguishing between these two artists can be observed, it would seem that the younger styled himself an Argive, while the elder and more famous Polykleitos

<sup>1</sup> For the Zeus Meilichios see Pausanias, ii. 20. 1; but compare Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 941, who inclines to the opinion that it was the work of the elder Polykleitos. For the Apollo, Leto and Artemis see Pausanias, ii. 24. 6. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 213. But Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, no. 943, is uncertain whether these figures may not have been the work of the elder Polykleitos.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, nos. 947-951. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 214, who sees no reason to doubt that Polykleitos had made statues for victorious athletes, and proceeds to appeal to the Diadumenus and Doryphorus as sculptures more or less of the same order. On the other hand it has been proved, through the

discovery of two of the bases of these statues at Olympia—Xenokles the Mænalian (*Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 83, no. 128), and Aristion the Epidaurian (*Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 207, no. 327)—that the Polykleitos there inscribed could only have been the younger who styled himself Ἀργεῖος. Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 12, proposed to regard him as a Theban by birth, but afterwards enrolled a citizen of Argos. This younger Polykleitos was a contemporary of Lysippos. The elder and greater sculptor of this name had doubtless also obtained the citizenship of Argos, yet it may be doubted whether he ever used the epithet of Ἀργεῖος. On the base found at Olympia see also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 144.

was a Sikyonian by birth and was properly therefore so styled. Yet from his training and subsequent activity in Argos, he seems to have been also regarded as an Argive occasionally.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 2nd ed. worked mainly in Argos, whence p. 340, says, Polykleitos was a he is mentioned now as a Sikyonian, native of Sikyon, but lived and now as an Argive.



END OF VOL. I.